

THE
Present state
OF THE S. 11. 69.
PRINCES
AND
REPUBLICKS
OF
ITALY,
With Observations on them.

Written Originally in *English*

By J. GAILHARD.



LONDON, Printed for John Starkey, living
at the *Myter* near Temple Bar in Fleet street, 1668.

Contained in this Volume

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Princes & Republicks in
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B. 1669

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T O T H E
Right Honourable ,
R O B E R T ,
Earle of S U N D E R L A N D ,
Baron S P E N C E R
O F
W O R M L E I G H T O N .

My Lord,



Is usual with some
when they pub-
lish any of their
works, to pretend
they were forced
to it by the impor-
tunity of Friends, which is often
true, and sometimes it is allow-
able ; but 'tis no great modesty
to boast of it upon every occasion.
Others do prefix to their Books,
to give them credit, the name of
some considerable person ; this is

The Epistle

well done, if the worth of the Piece be any wayes suitable to the qualifications of that person; else (to speak in *Solomons* words) it will be as a Jewel of Gold in a Swines snout. I hope, My Lord, I have at present in some measure hit upon that necessary proportion; Your Lordship is in every account one of the most Eminent Noblemen of the Kingdome, and my Subject (though I handle it with several defects and imperfections) is of potent Princes and Republicks, a hard task indeed it is; for when a private man is to speak of the persons and actions of Kings and Princes, specially of so many as I have occasion to mention, he walks upon the edge of Rocks and Precipices; for of one side Princes are jealous of their Authority, and the people of their Liberty; on the other, if he gives
Monarchies

Dedictory.

Monarchies such Commendations as that manner of Government deserves, he must be careful to say nothing to the disparagement of Republicks: Every one of these Governments is good in its kind, yet not in every Countrey, onely as it sutes the temper and constitution of people; but I cannot forbear to say, that Monarchy hath of all Governments most conformity to the pattern of all, or to the Empire which God hath over the World: 'Tis not an easie matter to speak of a subject which hath been treated of by several others, however there are different wayes to do it, and new observations may produce new Notions. Sometimes one hath occasion to tell his opinion of things, and herein he is himself liable to the censure of thousands of different judgement and affections;

The Epistle

but as these things are unavoidable to those who appear in publick ; so they ought to be resolved to undergoe any thing of that kind : the approbation of such persons as your Lordship, is that which writers should mind most of all, and use their utmost care to obtain. 'Tis a known truth, and I declare it, My Lord, that your Natural Parts, joyned to the experience you have gain'd by your travels, have fitted your Lordship to pass a judicious Sentence upon any thing that deserves it.

I say nothing in this Relation, but what your Lordship hath more accurately by far, and more exactly observed : You have been, My Lord, upon the places highly esteemed by some Princes who knew your worth and quality, and where to my own knowledge (if
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Dedictory.

I may so say) you omitted nothing that might conduce to the improvement of your self, as a person who by vertue of your Birth Parts and Merits, will find no employment in your Countrey too high for you, when some occasion shall be offered for your Prince to do you that favour and justice; to the end, the Nation may have some benefit of that treasure of wisdom and Experience which is in you; and I in particular the satisfaction to see your Lordship as great as you deserve; which is the earnest Desire of

My Lord,

*Your Lordships
most Humble and
Devoted Servant,*

Gailhard.



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TO THE
READER.

SIR,



Wonderful and much to be admired is the goodnesse and wisdom of God, in that various distribution he hath made of his favours to Nations and Countries, for the benefit of humane Society, that men seeing every where some tokens of his goodness, after a serious reflection on the same, they should reduce all to that ultimate end, which is to give him Glory and Praises for it. Non omnis fert omnia tellus, So that one Country lies under a kind of necessity of keeping correspondency with another, either for necessary or for delightful things, if not for the being, yet for the well-being; for this end hath the Art

To the Reader.

of Navigation been discovered, Trade (which makes Countries so flourishing) settled, and all manner of correspondency kept between those who live at a distance. I do not deny but that 'tis convenient to have things brought home to us out of Forreign Parts, without taking any pains, or running any hazzard, yet to have things right, we must go to fetch them upon the places where they are produced; 'tis best to have things at the first hand, and to have pure water, we must go to the spring, if it can conveniently be done, for it looses something of its worth, either through the defect of the Vessel, or some other accident, if it be brought to us: We observe in Vegetables, if they be transplanted, after a while they degenerate, and loose part of their Vertue, the climate and the soyle are not so sutable to their nature as that wherein they grew; no Balm was so good as that which was in Gilead; that Vine-tree which in one place doth produce good Grapes, in another will yield nothing but wild Grapes. Experience also doth demonstrate this in sensitive Creatures, horses and dogs, when carried from their own climate, loose their good
qua-

To the Reader.

qualities, at the furthest at the second or third breed. This holds in rational creatures; we know there are Nations which for the generality have quicker apprehension, and sharper wit then others, yet let a man remove from his Native Country, when he hath been any considerable while in another, his temper will be like that of those amongst whom he lives, imperceptibly such an alteration is wrought, so that he will grow dull and flegmatick if the climate bears it; this may be caused by a constant conversation with people of that constitution; by the very diet, for those aliments which are coarse, make gross and thick blood, which doth not breed quick and lively spirits; and a man by the change of Air, will find a great alteration in himself; the breathing of a pure Air refreshes the Lungs, cheers up the Heart, and upon a suddain inspires an inward joy, which can hardly be expressed: in this I speak after my own experience, I specially took notice of it when I came to Puzzuolo and Baya in Italy, neither was I alone to make that observation, which obliged me to think that there had been a particular reason of this nature, why some

To the Reader.

Roman Emperours, and others of the greatest persons amongst them, took such a delight to be there. 'Twas in such places as this, and Tivoly, with like, that Cicero, Virgil, and other eminent men for learning, composed the greatest part of those works which to this day we have amongst us.

That which I have said of low and Mechanical things, will hold in those of a more noble and higher nature. What Merchants do for their profit, Gentlemen ought to do for their honour; the one brings riches into his Countrey, the other ought to bring good observations and maxims that may contribute to the good order and right Government of his Nation, if by his quality or abilities he comes to be called to have a share in it. The great Law-givers in Greece, sent into several parts of the world those who gathered for them the quintessence of those Laws which other nations enjoyed. The Romans in the times of the Decemvirs did the same, and others have followed their example; 'tis true, one must be very judicious and skilful in the application of the same; for every Law doth not sute every Nation; but I say,
that

To the Reader.

that mutatis mutandis, there is never a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, but they may make an exchange of some of their Laws and Customs: Monarchy may afford Democrasie. some beneficial Statutes, so may well regulated democracy to Monarchy, for all governments, by what name soever distinguished, have or ought to have, but one and the same end, which is self-preservation first, and then the promoting of publick good, every one in his station and calling, although these different Governments use different means and wayes to come to that end.

Out of this I suppose 'twill appear to any rational man how necessary and beneficial travelling is to the compleating of a Gentle man, if it be well directed and improved; and as Nations are obliged to those Merchants, who through many and great hazzards do bring home the best of other Countries to enrich their own, certainly they must needs be much beholden to those Patriots, who have been at charges and pains to collect and bring them those wholesome counsels, by the right use of which they may secure themselves in the enjoyment of their plenty, riches and happiness,

To the Reader.

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To the Reader.

piness, to the preventing of disturbances which might happen to arise against it : It ought therefore to be the endeavours, as it is the duty, of every one to fit himself as much as he can for the service of his King and Countrey.

I said just now, how beneficial travelling is, if one hath good directions ; this lays an engagement upon me to say something to that effect for the satisfaction of those who stay at home, and for the instruction of them who go abroad, not that I think my self wise enough to advise others ; onely I say my natural propensity joyned to that manner of life I have led hitherto, hath much inclined me to travel into most parts of Europe, wherein I have spent most of my time ; but whether this hath fitted me to give my opinion upon this subject, I am not to be the judge : however I dare say 'tis difficult for a Gentleman, let him have never so good parts, to get any considerable benefit by his Travels upon his first going abroad, except he hath along with him the advice of one who knows Countries and fashions ; for the time allowed him to stay abroad is almost expired, before he can recover himself of
the

To the Reader.

the surprizal and astonishment which daily difficulties and inconveniencies have cast him into; but when he is to act according to advice, and this advice is grounded upon knowledge and experience, he will find his task more easie, more pleasant and more profitable. And here I must say something in general of those who undertake to be such directors, which may well be applied to all sorts of persons.

God, whom men pray (or ought to pray) every day to give them their daily bread, hath commanded them to work for it, and he who doth not work, ought not to eat, as the Apostle saith. As the difference of faces, and the diversity of tempers in men do express the wisdom of God, so doth that variety of employments which he calls them to, according to their genius, inclination and abilities in some measure to perform their undertakings: Let everyone abide in that whereunto he is called, saith St. Paul; so that men ought to follow it after they have embraced it, either out of choice or by necessity, especially if besides the benefit they reap by it, they are any ways useful to others, knowing we are born not so much for our selves, as for others;

To the Reader.

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To the Reader.

thers; and though a constant kind of employment be necessary for one, yet this doth not exclude the use of that capacity he may have to several sorts of calling, it being well for those who have many strings to their bow, that if one breaks the other may be useful. Men must ever be doing something, if it were for nothing else but to keep themselves from Idleness, which is the Mother of Vice.

But to come to that kind of Employment which gives occasion to this discourse, 'tis usually attended with great and many difficulties, besides the hazards which one runs in foreign Countries; for if dangers come often to men when they are at home, what will it be when they go as it were to meet with them, when almost every day they see men of all Nations, and of all sorts of tempers: certainly one must very much exercise his prudence in avoiding the perils he meets withall, and must have much courage to come off when they be unavoidable, but above all, an extraordinary protecting providence of God is absolutely necessary: Yet there are more uncomfortable difficulties to struggle withal, then are the fore-expressed.

To the Reader.

expressed. The extravagancy of a young man, who will not be advised by a Governor, nor ruled by a Father; this Governor is to please a father who loves to spare, and a son who delights to spend, a father who would have him to learn and improve himself, and a Son who in his travels hath no other end but to take his pleasure; and after he hath fenced a long while against the wild nature, the vicious inclination and unreasonableness of a Son, he is also exposed to the hardness and unthankfulness of Parents.

I have wondered at many who take this charge upon themselves, and consider not whether they be qualified for it, when no honest man will undertake any thing, except he knows himself in some measure able to perform it: 'Tis enough for them to know they shall thereby get a competent allowance, to run headlong upon any employment that lies in their way; how can they expect in conscience or reason, that a young Gentleman can improve under their conduct, that his relations can have any satisfaction, or themselves get thereby any credit or reputation, if they have no capacity somewhat suitable to their undertakings? for how can such a one
be

To the Reader.

be able to direct another how to benefit himself, and to travel in foreign parts, except he hath some knowledge of the language of the Country, and fashions? Every Nation hath some particular Vices and Vertues, the one to be avoided, and the other learned; what these things are I must be told, and how can he that knows it not tell me of it? this ignorance will make him contemptible to me, and he must learn it himself before he can teach it me; so that for the whole time allowed to travel, he is only a learner who should have been a Teacher. I am a bashful English man, I will learn confidence, and a handsome carriage in France, so riding the Great Horse, Fencing, Dancing, and other bodily Exercises which contribute to compleat a Gentleman; thence if I pass into Italy, that Air will fix the French Quick-silver, there I will learn Sobriety, Frugality, and to be circumspect in words and actions, so Musick, Picture-drawing, Architecture, &c. Yet I must have some knowledge of persons and places, of whom and where these things may be learned best of all; I must know also how to benefit my self in going by, or staying at a place. 'Tis
not

To the Reader.

not enough for a Gentleman to say, in such a City there is a stately Church, a fine Palace, and the ruines of a most ancient Amphitheater; this I confess ought to be taken notice of: but further, I must observe the quality of the Climate, and of the soyle, the Scituation of the Country, and (if I understand Fortifications) the strength and the weakness of the Cities and Countries I go through, and take notice of the advantage or disadvantage of Rivers, Ways and Grounds; so I must be acquainted with their Manners, Forces, Riches, and wherein they consist, to see whether any thing out of it may be useful to my Country; but above all I must observe their Government, and if it be possible their mysteries of State, so I must endeavour to know the persons and qualifications of Princes and Ministers of State, and any thing else that may be both for my own benefit, and the service of my Country; so at length my travels having ripened my judgement, quickned my apprehension, and sharpened my wit, I shall not be unprofitable, nor of the number of those the Poet speaks of,

Nos numerus sumus fruges consume-
re nati.

This

To the Reader.

This I do insist upon, not to boast of any abilities of my own, for I ingeniously confess my weakness in this, yet I profess a desire to learn it, though it was for no other end then to impart it to others, that with me they may reap some benefit of it ; this I say still, that another cannot teach me that which he knows not, but his knowledge, experience and practise of any thing enables him to infuse it into me ; and indeed 'tis a fault I have accidentally observed in some when they be in a strange Countrey, they keep company with none but the masters of their exercises, they ought indeed constantly to follow these exercises, but if they see no body else, at last they will learn to dance, to fence, &c. and nothing else; they ought to make acquaintance with men of quality, and frequent their company ; of them a handsome carriage and good fashions are to be learned, they must also take care to find themselves company for their honest pleasures, and lawful recreations ; but a hateful thing it is to see one brought up in a timorous and pedantical way, which makes a Gentleman unfit for any thing of concernment ; a Gentleman must be taught as to
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To the Reader.

do no wrong, so to suffer no wrong as long as his honour is concerned in it, for he is not worthy to live who prefers his life to his honour; not that imaginary honour as 'tis conceived in these days, but that honour which is really so, not contrary to our duty to God, or obedience to Superiours; therefore a great wisdom is required in the use of a bridle or of a spur to work upon youth, to infuse courage into them, so as not to make them rash, and so to curb them, as not to dishearten them.

But I am carried further then I intended upon this subject, 'tis time to speak directly to my present design; I give thee Reader the present state of the Princes and Republicks of Italy: 'Tis a worthy subject, if we consider their number, jealousies, and policy; 'tis certainly one of the most politick Nations of the world, and I doubt very much whether any other can compare to it. What I express is gotten not so much by reading, as by travelling upon the places, seeing and conversing for a competent time with those who were able to instruct me: some things also are of my own particular observation. In the following discourse, I do not speak of
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To the Reader.

the Scituation, or of the boot-like shape of Italy, which any ordinary Map can shew; to mention the quality of the Climate, or of the soyle of every part of that Garden of Europe, 'twould prove tedious, and contrary to the narrow bounds I do here prescribe my self. The manners of the Inhabitants, their outward form of Government, their Riches, Force and Religion, are matters for Historians; hence it is that I do not insist upon Descriptions, however that which I thought fit to be known upon the matter in hand I express; I think (I know not whether I am mistaken) that the variety I use in it will please thee, for in some parts I insist upon the person of the Prince, in others upon the manners of the Inhabitants, and in some others I briefly mention what is particular in their Government; so that I have not a constant or affected method; contrariwise I endeavour sometimes to conceal it: Upon every particular, I speak, either that onely which I thought necessary to be known, and so I passed by some things I could have told, or I speak according to the degree of knowledge I had

To the Reader.

had of the thing; and if amongst a thousand things unprofitable, there be but one useful, I will not grudge my time nor my pains.

J. G.

THE

There is newly extant an excellent piece Intituled, *The Art of Chymistrie, as it is now practised*, so plain and easie, that it is fitted for all capacities; Written in *French* by *P. Thibault*, Chymist to the *French King*, and *Englished* by a Fellow of the Royal Society, in *Octavo*.

Licensed April the 18th, 1668.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

THE
Present STATE
OF
ITALY.



IHAT must needs be a Rare Country which is pleasant and plentiful, watered with many Rivers; at the season adorned with Corn in the fields, and Grass in the Meddows, with delightful Land - skips, that in most parts hath a wholesome Air, that abounds in strong and stately Cities, where the eye is delighted with most sumptuous buildings, recreated with variety of Pictures and Statues, the ear pleased with as great a variety of harmonious Musick as can be upon earth; where the Palate is satisfied with the best fruits, and other delicacies, and the rarest wines of *Europe*; where in a certain season, the nose enjoys the sweet smell of *Orange* and *Jasmin* flowers,
B which

which lay over head or under feet ; and at the same time, and in the same place to behold fine perspectives, and hear the murmur of several fountain waters : In a word, that Country which produces plenty and variety to please all the Senses, and which hath the *Alpes* of one side for walls, and the Sea on the other for bounds, must needs be an excellent Country ; such is *Italy*.

The whole Country which we call *Italy*, is, by the *Italians* themselves, divided into *Italy*, the *Kingdome*, and *Lombardy* ; *Italy* comprehends the dominions of the Pope, of the grand Duke, and of *Luca*. *Naples* is that which they call the *Kingdome*, and *Lombardy* contains great part of the State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Modena*, *Parma*, *Monferrat*, *Piemont*, and the State of *Genoa*.

But to make use of the ancient Division, and to descend to particulars ; I say, that in *Italy* some are great Princes, considering the Extent of their Dominions ; and others of an Inferiour Orb, may be called petty Princes : The former sort come to the number of Seven,
and

and with the four Republicks, to Eleven. The *Pope*, King of *Spain*, Dukes of *Savoy*, *Tuscany*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Modena*; for though some do reckon the Bishop of *Trent*, which stands between the *Venetians* and *Tyrol*, yet being a Prince of the Empire, having a perpetual Alliance with the House of *Austria*, and often of the same Family, He may be taken for a *German* more then for an *Italian* Prince; and seeing little can be said concerning him, we shall pass it by to come to the Republicks; which are *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Luca*, and *San Marino*: For the order of precedence, *Venice* hath place after *Spain*, *Genoa* after *Tuscany*, though they pretend to be used as Crowned heads, being Masters of *Corfica*, formerly a Kingdom; the other two Republicks take place after all the forenamed Princes, who also do not agree amongst themselves about Precedency; *Tuscany* pretends it from *Savoy*, though he be much inferiour in antiquity, and extent of Dominions; and *Mantua* from *Tuscany*, neither will *Modena* yield it to some named before him. I should also say, that *France* hav-

ing acquired *Pignerolo*, a door into *Italy*, and a strong place, from the Duke of *Savoy*, that King having an Interest in *Italy*, is to be reckoned amongst the Princes of it.

The State of Rome.

THE Pope hath great *Dominions* conveniently seated to disturb others, specially *Naples*; for all from *Ostia*, upon the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, to *Loretto*, *Ancona*, &c. is his: All the Lands together are called, *Lo Stato Della Chiesa*, in particular, old *Latium*, now *Campagna Romana*, *il Patrimonio*, *di San Pietro*, of which the chief City is *Viterbo*, part of ancient *Tuscany*, *Terra Sabina*, *Umbria*, *ducato di spoletto*, *la Marca di Ancona*, *la Romagna*, *il ducato di Urbino*, *ducato di ferrara*, *Perugia*, *Orvieto*, and *Bolognese*; he is Sovereign of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, which he gives the investiture of, and receives homage for, as he doth for the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, pretending the same over the Islands of *Sardegna* and *Corfica*: He is in possession of the Dukedom and City
of

of *Benevento* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and he pretends that in time of *minority* of the *Kings* of *Spain* he hath right to Govern that Kingdom by a Legat : He also enjoys the County of *Avignon* in *France*, and *Ceneda* within the State of *Venice*.

These Countries, (I mean those who are united together) specially from *Ancona* to *Ravenna* and *Ferrara* all along the Coasts of the Gulf of *Venice*, do afford good Souldiers, which upon case of an urging necessity may be gathered to about the number of 60000, though 20000 foot, and 3000 horse, as had *Clement* the 8th. in the War of *Ferrara*, were much to be kept on foot any long while : *Urban* the 8th, in the War of *Parma* had 30000, but if the whole Countrey was in Armes, then 'twould be upon 400000. The *Pope* indeed may be accounted, as he is really, a strong Prince, which strength consists in the extent of his Territories, in their Scituation, being all united, and there being no safe nor convenient places towards the *Mediterranean*, to make any landing; and towards the *Gulf* they trust to the

Venetians, who are to keep it clear; upon which condition they are acknowledged to be the Lords of these Seas; further all along the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and the whole *Campagna Romana*, there is a bad air, wch would soon work upon any *Army* either in Spring, Summer or Autumn: This strength further consists in the temper of his Subjects and Souldiers, who are esteemed to be the best Foot in *Italy*; the *Italian* Proverb calls them, *The best of Souldiers*, but *the worst of Subjects*: so this strength consists in his strong Holds, as *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, *Fortezza Urbana*, &c. in his Arsenals, or Magazines of Armes; the *Vatican* or St. Peter hath for 5000 men, in the Castle St. *Angelo* for 15000, in *Ancona* for 10000, in *Ravenna* for 5000, in *Ferrara* 25000, and *Bologna* for 10000, and a new one a making at *Tivoly*, by the late *Don Mario's* Order, where he employed continually above 300 men; so that they are spread up and down the Countrey to Arme the people upon occasion. Upon the *Mediterranean* he keeps five Gallies, which
< harbour in *Civita Vecchia*, they are not handsome,

handsome, nor very good, but are well man'd.

But that which another way strengthens much the *Pope*, is, that Respect and Devotion which Popish Princes and States bear him, acknowledging him (though falsely) to be the Vicary of Christ, God on Earth, and the head of their Religion; so that if a Prince had seized upon any of his Dominions, the *Pope* who had provoked him to make war being dead, it would be restored to the new Elected, all of them being persuaded that it were a Sacrilege to detain from that Church, that which did belong to it; besides that every Prince of that Religion intending any such thing, would find it to be a hard work; for the *Pope* hath ever an Army quartered upon their Land, which are that vast number of Secular Priests, and Regular Friars, who depend on the *Pope* upon several accounts, who having all sworn an Obedience to their Generals, who usually keep at *Rome*, they would act according to the Orders sent them from thence. So that having their Pulpits, Confessions, and Introduction into hou-

ses of all ranks, they could make strange work; Hence to me doth appear the happiness of those Princes who having shaken off that *Roman* yoke, and turned out those Emissaries, are freed of those dangers, which those of that Religion are exposed to, though often they are liable to their private attempts. Another politick strength of *Popes*, consists in the Colledge of Cardinals, who are most of them chosen, either to gratifie Princes, or who depend upon Princes, (without whose knowledge Princes hardly resolve any thing of importance about *Popes*) or else are Relations to Princes; and it is certain, when these Princes Interests come to be in Competition with the *Pope's* and Churches, this last sways with them above all, because every one of these Cardinals is not without hope of being chosen *Pope* one time or other. Now I say, that *Popes*, as they are Temporal Princes, though they be Elective, ought to have that respect which deserveth the character which God hath set upon the forehead of Sovereigns; but as he is a Tyrant over the Church, and an Usurper

per over the Heritage of the Lord ; all good Christians and reasonable men ought to abhorre him, not his person, but that Tyranny, Usurpation, and unlawful Actions of his.

I said, that 25000 or 30000 men is a great number to be kept on foot by *Popes* any long while ; not for want of monies, for as *Sixtus Quartus* used to say, *The Church can never want money in her purse, as long as the Pope doth hold a pen in his hand.* Indeed, besides the ordinary Income to the *Camera*, for the occasions of the Church (so they call that State) the Office of the *Diataria*, brings to *Popes* for their own use , exceeding great Treasures out of all parts, which own his Religion ; besides the private wayes they have to get monies, of which I shall speak; some reckon that *Popes* have 6000*l* Sterling a day, besides the casual incomes which are very great: every time a *Legat a Latere* is sent abroad, he is allowed 250*l* Sterling a day: for proof of this vast Revenues, *Sixtus* the 5th, who Reigned but five years, of a poor Countrey Family *Peretti*, yet he builded the Palace of St. *John* of *Late-*

ran, began that of *Monte-Cavallo*, fortified *Civita Vecchia*, built many Colledges, made chargeable Aqueducts; did many other costly works and reparations, wherein 'tis thought he spent a matter of 15 Millions of Crowns, or upon 4 Millions of *English* pounds, and left five Millions of Crowns in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and did not charge his people with heavy Taxes; and then the *Popes* had not the Dukedome of *Urbino*, nor that of *Ferrara*, and in a time that Reformation was carried on in a great measure in these three Kingdoms, *France*, *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other parts of the *North*. And *Paul* the 5th, who did not Reign very long, left to the Prince of *Salmona*, one of his Nephews, 1000 Crowns a day, besides what he gave to several others of his Relations. And *Gregory* the 15th of the family of *Ludovisio*, Reigned only one year and 11 Months, and left to his Family 250000 crowns a year, or 62000 and 500*l*, besides. Thus as *Popes* are temporal Princes, so they lay Taxes upon their Subjects, and heavy ones too. The late
Pope

Pope, since his falling out with *France*, within the space of two years, laid Gabels or Taxes upon 16 sorts of Commodities, which were free before; So 'twas done upon the Souldiers, kept within the State; for every Common Souldier was Taxed one Crown of his yearly pay, which came to between 5 and 6000 Crowns, according to their number; and the whole people in the City and Countrey were exceedingly oppressed: The selling of Offices is now a settled custome in the Court of *Rome*, which is very beneficial to *Popes*: I shall give but an instance of the *Camera Apostolica*, or the Apostolick Chamber; the places of the *Treasurer General*, and of the *Auditor*, are sold for 80000 Crowns a piece. There are twelve places of *Chierici*, Clarks worth 42000 a piece; the Presidents is 30000, and so of others: the two forenamed Offices are the next step to the Cardinal; so that if the *Pope* will have 160000 Crowns he makes Cardinals those who have them, and from others he finds ready money for the places. And what shall we say to that vast Treasure of *Lo-*

retto, which is inestimable : every week, nay, almost every day, one gift or other is brought to it from Kings, Queens, Princes, and other great Persons, Cities, and particular men ; they have whole Chambers full of Gold and Silver plate ; but this is nothing to that vast number of Diamonds, and other precious Stones, which they keep in a place made a purpose.

Were it not for want of the exercise of the Protestant Religion, *Rome* is as fit a place to lead a quiet and a contented life, as any is in the world ; a man may live there as he pleases, and no body meddles with him ; offend no body, and no body will offend you ; and though the Inquisition be there, strangers are not troubled with it, except they speak against their Religion, which it were a great imprudence to do ; 'twere a madness for a man to go tell the *Pope* he is Antichrist, this were to tempt God, and contrary to the wisdom of the Serpent, which is commanded us. 'Tis an old and common saying ;

*Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito
more, &c.*

A stranger and a traveller must be all eyes, and all ears, but hardly any tongue at all, he must hear, he must see and hold his peace. I say, at *Rome* there is a very great liberty; if a Protestant pleases, all Lent he may eat flesh, by the means of a License, which he may get for two shillings; You are not obliged to go to Mass, to Confession, nor to any of their superstitious wayes. One thing there is, which a stranger may do to satisfy his curiosity, which is, to go to their *Stationi*, as they call it, that is, their Devotions to certain Churches, which happens in one or other every week, where is a great concourse of people of all sorts, and constantly excellent good musick; so every Saturday at the *Cardinal Padrone's*, the *Popes* Nephew, lodging at *Monte-Cavallo*, all men of good fashion use to meet to tell and hear news; so one day or other in the week, people use to meet at the palace of the *Prefetto* of the Church, which is either the *Popes* Brother or Nephew. So at *Monte Cavallo*, the *Popes* palace, when the Consistory of Cardinals is kept. So one may have the company one time.

time or other of their Academists or Virtuosi, which in Rome are of three sorts, *Humoristi, Lincei, Fantastici*.

One thing more is, to follow the *Correggio* of some Cardinal and Ambassadour first for Protection; for if any mischance should befall a man, when 'tis known such a Gentleman is of the *Correggio* of such a Cardinal, he is respected, and no harm done to him without the leave of such a Protector, into whose house one may fly for sanctuary. Secondly, going with them (after the warning you have of it at your lodging) when they receive or make visits, or go to their audience, one may see their formalities and Ceremonies which are very great; they never visit one another but they send before, one to know whether such a one be disposed to receive the visit of another at such an hour, and as *Italians*, give high names to things; they call this Ambassage. Further, they receive not at the same time visits from two persons; it must be known also, whether such a person intends to come *Incognito*, or whether he will be known, which onely consists in the

the putting on or off of a superfluou^s Garment, and the Loops which are about the horses heads, which are of Gold, if the Cardinal be a Prince, a Roman Baron, or of the Family of a Duke and Peere of France, or other Kingdomes; so that according as they come, they are received nearer the Stairs, and with more Ceremonies, for every step they are to make is regulated, and they would not go an inch further; so that all that passes between them, is more *belle parole* then realities; I say, *belle parole*, not onely because they be Complements, but also they are accurate expressions, well pronounced, according to their proverb, *Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*.

One thing I must needs observe of their Civility to those strangers who are of their Corteggio, that although they know them to be Protestants, yet they never trouble them with any discourse of Religion. 'Tis certain, that this Court is as politick as any in the world, and where by a reflection you may know all what passes in Europe: for no Prince in the world hath better Intelligencies then
the

the *Pope*, who hath Legates or Nuncio's in most Courts, and Spies every where. Cardinals do receive their Letters from the Courts of their Princes, whose Interests they own; and the General of every Regular Order being usually at *Rome*, and receiving a constant weekly Intelligence out of all those parts where are any of his Order; and sometimes from the Confessors to Kings, Queens, and other high persons, do signify what things they hear, to the *Pope*. One may judge of this by what they do at home; that which is to be admired at *Rome*, is that exceeding great number of Spies under pay, which are there up and down in all houses, publick places, and at every corner, the *Pope* hath his; every Cardinal, and Princes (I put them before, for they take place of them) have theirs; one Cardinal and Prince will have his Spie in the house of another, though some of them go like Gentlemen of good fashion; and others who are of a higher form keep their Coaches; some of them have keys to come in at any hour by the back door to the persons whose Spies they are. Some as
Staffieri,

Staffieri, or Foot-men, serve strangers ; others are Masters of Exercises, nay, several *Cortegiane* or Prostitute women are under pay ; so that by these means, no particular business comes to pass, but 'tis presently known. One day I had occasion to enquire for a mean person about an ordinary business, very far from my lodging, and from that of a third person concerned in't, in a corner of a street, one that was with me inquiring for such a one, in came to us an unknown man, who stood by, I admired to hear him say, what, you look for him about such a thing, he is gone to such a place : Every one of their Great Men who know this custome, do suspect every new Servant they take. I have been told by a person who stood by, that the late *Duke Cezarini*, sent one day for a *Notaro* (or one of those Scriveners, who keep the List of some Spies) whom he trusted, and having shewed him the Names of all his Domesticks, how doth it go said he ? the other answered, well ; then said he, 'tis a wonder, I am here the onely man ; this language is obscure, but he who stood by,
knew

knew the meaning of it. As to Strangers, none comes to *Rome*, but 'tis presently known who it is, whence he comes, what company he frequents, and the like. Not long since I happened to be at *Rome* at the same time that there was a considerable number of *English-men*; the late Pope told an *English Priest*, and an *English Gentleman*, who being a Papist, was gone thither for Devotion sake, That he wondered that Some of the *English-men* that were then in *Town*, did not come to his Palace upon the dayes he gave Audience, though it was but for curiosity; but said he, I know they are so taken up to drink, that they have no time to spare: He was well informed, yet this did not proceed from any contempt he had for the Nation; contrariwise he used to speak with respect of *England*, calling it the *Land of Wonders*: though this may be ambiguous, yet I believe he took it in a good sense, and he hath expressed the desire he had to have come to see it when he was Nuncio in *Germany*, if he could have done it with safety.

In *Rome* are to be seen several ancient

ent and modern Curiosities; there are particular guides for antiquities, the modern do consist in Churches, Palaces, Houses of pleasure, called *Villa*, where you may see the utmost of Art in Architecture, Pictures, Statues, Gardens, Water-works; so there are Libraries, as that of the *Vatican*, enriched with a number of Excellent Books, and rare Manuscripts in several tongues, and increased with the ruins of that of *Heidelberg*, and with that of *Urbino*: this Library can be compared to none but that of *Oxford*, yet with some difference: there are also private Libraries and Cabinets of which all, as of the curiosities of *Tivoly* and *Frescati*, places 12 and 18 miles from the City; there are exact Relations in their Language, so that it were needless for me to name or to describe any.

Therefore I come to speak how *Popes* stand affected to their Neighbours; some grounds of this might have been laid formerly, when the Apostolick Chamber had the direction of Affairs: but since *Popes* are come to be so absolute, that the Chamber must do almost
all

all what they please, now their interest, natural inclination, fancy or Capriccio, as they call it; and sometimes the suggestions of a Kinsman and Favorite, such as was *Don Mario*, though 'twas a woman, as *Donna Olympia*, are the rule of it. Some Popes have had fallings out with the *Venetians*, as had *Paul* the 5th, concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and other things; *Clement* the 8th with the Dukes of *Modena* about *Ferrara*; *Urban* the 8th with the Duke of *Parma* about *Castro*; and so of late Cardinal *Franciotti*, Bishop of *Luca*, was like to be the occasion of a great falling out between the Pope and that Republick. *Urban* the 8th was a great friend to *France*, but not to *Spain*, nor to the *Grand Duke*. *Innocent* the 10th, the half of his Reign was for *Spain*, and then he turned to the *French*; and the late *Alexander* 7th, was all along an Enemy to *France*, chiefly upon the account of *Mazarini*, whom he hated with all his heart; but the present Pope carries himself even between all, although before his Election he were suspected to be partial for
Spain,

Spain, but upon no solid grounds; for those who pretend to the *Popedom* stand neutrals, and declare themselves of no party.

The maximes of *Pope's* are different, according to their interest and temper; so that this being an Elective Dignity, no general rule but this can be given, that all endeavour to raise their Families to Honour and Riches; however their *Raggioni di Stato* are, to hinder *Naples* from falling into the Emperours hands: for *Clement* the 7th made penance for the fault which *Leon* the 10th had committed to favour *Charles* the 5th. A second maxime is, still to give hopes of being promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal to those potent Prelates that are at *Rome*, and elsewhere, to keep them in dependency, and from discontents and disturbances. Another is to confine the number of Cardinals to 70, which was an invention of *Sixtus Quintus*, to avoid the importunities of several Princes, who solicited him to confer that dignity upon some whom he would not bring into the Colledge. Of the same nature as this is, another

Arcano

Arcano di Stato, concerning the Examen of Bishops, which was ordered by *Clement* the 8th, to stop the designs of Princes, who intended to promote to Prelacy many of their Creatures : for then they had been ashamed to present those who had no learning, nor other qualifications fit for the place. A further secret of State is, that of the *Bull* of Residency, whereby Bishops are obliged to reside in their Bishopricks ; by the means of this, *Popes* do remove from their Court those Cardinals and others whom they dislike : By these means *Urban* the 8th, kept out of Rome Cardinal *Borgia*, and others of the *Spanish* faction, who spoke too boldly to him : So did *Alexander* the 7th keep away Cardinal *Rossetti*, who stiffly opposed his Election. A further maxime of theirs is, to refer to Congregations, the demands of Princes above Ecclesiastical Lawes, Jurisdiction, and other things which *Popes* are not willing to grant, for so they lay the denial upon others. Another *Raggione di Stato*, is, that Cardinals may not go out of the state of the Church without leave from the *Pope*,
for

for so they prevent those Councils and Assemblies before the which formerly they have at several times been summoned to appear. Further, as former *Popes* have humbled and brought down those noble and potent Families that were in *Rome*, which had given a great deal of trouble to their Predecessors; so at present *Popes* keep them low; by which means, they have so degenerated, that instead of those great and brave Captains, now out of these Families come out idle, vicious and effeminate persons. Lastly, 'tis a very politick maxime of *Popes*, to send their Legate to Princes to pacifie the quarrels arising between them, although they know 'twill effect nothing at all; and that sometimes 'tis their interest that such quarrels should last, for hereby they shew themselves to be zealous of the publick good and peace; and thus they maintain themselves the Arbiters of Princes. The Cardinals Nephews have also their particular maximes, namely to keep from perferment, and to remove from the *Pope's* person those whom they do not affect: on the contrary,

trary, to raise to dignities, and to procure places of trust to their friends and creatures. Publick Ministers at that Court know so well the jealousy of Nephews, who will have nothing communicated to *Popes*, but by their means, that usually they impart first to them that which they are to speak of to the *Pope*, and commonly they give them an account of what answer they had, taking *Cardinal Padrons* lodging from the *Popes* in their way homewards. A policy of the Cardinals, who are contrary to the Court, is to get some Eminent one, disaffected as they are, to be their Head; and now 'tis a Custome passed as it were into a Law, to choose none but *Italians* to be *Popes*.

Before the late Election, the Colledge of Cardinals was divided into the *Ghigian* party, which were all the creatures or friends of *Alexander* the 7th; six of them are of *Siena*, the City he was born in, the *Squadra volante*, the flying Squadron composed of the creatures of *Innocent* the 10th, who having left no Cardinal of his Name or Family, *Cardinal Imperiale* was look't upon as the

the Head of them, and most part of these were brought in to this present Pope by *Azzolino*, one of their chief members; but the 3^d party was that of *Barberini*, *Francesco* the Dean of the Colledge being the head; and several of *Urbans* Creatures the members, with some others, who being poor received pensions from *Francesco*; now a fourth party is rising, which is that of the present Pope.

Before I leave this Subject, I must say something of him; He is called *Clement* the 9th, which name he took as he assured the Princess of *Rossano*, out of respect he doth bear to the memory of *Clement* the 8th, *Aldobrandin*; his name is *Giulio Rospigliosi* of *Pistoia*, an indifferent good City about 20 miles from *Florence*, and in the *Grand Dukes* Dominions. This man was chosen the last year, in the 71 of his Age; he was employed as *Nuncio* in *Spain*, and then by the late Pope was chosen Secretary of State; he had a very sore fit of sickness a little while afore the Pope died; he was once given over by Physicians, & when he came to recover, and before

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the *Popes* death, he had thoughts to leave his place. He is a man of a middle stature, and very gray; being a Cardinal he was accounted a wise Statesman, and of great parts; I say he was, for I cannot tell whether he doth or will continue so, for often have we seen in that place that *Honours have changed manners*; as it was well observed of the late *Pope Alexander*, of whom it was said, as of *Galba*, He had been worthy of Reigning, if he had not Reigned; *Dignus Imperio, si non imperasset*; and of all other sayings, this most of all was fastened upon him; he was *maximus in minimis*, and *minimus in maximis*.

This *Pope* since his Election to that Dignity, hath made a judicious Creation of Cardinals; he hath chosen his own Nephew to express his affection to him; the late *Pope's* Nephew, *Don Sigismond* to express his thankfulness for the Obligations he had to that Family; and herein he hath given an example contrary to that so much blamed of *Innocent* the 10th, who did so bitterly persecute the Relations of his Predecessour. The third Cardinal Created is
Leopold,

Leopold, of the family *Medici* : Thus he hath repaired the fault of *Alexander*, acknowledged the kindness he received from the *Grand Duke* in the late conclave, and shews that he remembers he hath been his Subject : Further, this *Pope* hath done two things contrary to the practises of his Predecessor, who at the beginning would own none of his Relations, nor have them about his person, or raise them to preferments, till he seemed to be forced to it by the earnest solicitations, and constant importunities of Cardinals, and publick Ministers ; yet it is well known how indulgent to them he hath been all along ; therefore said the *Romans*, *Alexander* was as good as his word, that he would not receive his Relations at *Rome*, for he went to do it at *Castel Gandolfo*, a house of pleasure 12 miles from it : but the present *Pope* sent for his immediately after his Election, and would make no new Creation (as they call it) of Cardinals, nor distribute several favours till his Nephew was come back to *Rome*, that others might have to him the Obligation of it : The other thing

he hath done is, that he hath suppressed in part those heavy Taxes which his Predecessour, or *Don Mario* had laid on the people; this hath much gotten him the love of his Subjects. Should I now go about to give a character of *Don Camilio* his Brother, his Nephews, and other Relations, it would be too much like a relation, therefore I forbear it; and indeed I have been so long upon this particular, that I must be shorter in what follows.

In *Rome* are still some Noble and ancient Families, as *Colonna*, which do possess three principalities, *Ursini* hath two more. *Saveli*, whereof the chief is perpetual Marshal of the Church, and Prince of *La Rizza* bought by the late Pope, and of *Albano*. *Muti* Duke of that name, and Prince of *Rignano*, *Cesarini* Prince of *Janfano* and *Ardea*. *Conti*, of which is the present Duke *Pauli*. *Caëtani*, of which is the Prince of *Caserta*, Son to the Duke of *Sermouetta*. *Franchipani*, which is extinct, for the late Marquess left but one Daughter, who hath been married to one of the name who lives in *Hungary*. The others

others are *Bentivogli*, *Baglioni*, *Peppuli*, *Vitelli*, &c.

The new Families, to begin with that which now Rules, are, *Rospigliosi*, *Ghigi*, *Panfilio*, *Barberini*, *Ludovico Borghese*, *Altemps*, *Cezi*, *Farneze*, *Aldrandini*, *Buoncompagno*, &c. raised by Popes of their family, as now *Rospigliosi* of *Clement* the 9th, *Ghigi* of *Alexander* the 7th, &c. *Mattei* also, and *Lanti* both Dukes in *Rome*, are both of good Families.

The King of *Spain* comes next to the Pope in *Italy*; he hath *Naples*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardegna* upon the Coasts, with *Milan* in *Lombardy*, and and *Finale* the head of a Marquisate upon the Coasts of *Genoa*, and nearer to *Tuscany* he hath *Portolongone* and *Orbitello*.

The state of Naples.

N*Aples* contains twelve Provinces, which are a division of the three ancient, their names are *Terra di Lavoro*, *Principato citra*, *Principato ultra*, *Basilicata*,

filicata, Calabria citrà, Calabria ultra, terra d' Otranto, terra di Bari, Capitanata, Contato di Molisse, Abruzzo citra, and Abruzzo ultra; Most of these parts are inhabited by very dangerous people, the more by reason of the abundance of Woods which do shelter their Rogues, whom the crimes they have committed have driven from the Cities, whither they are not safe to return; whence they have the name of *Banditi*, and whom the protection of Great Men to make use of them one against another, by reason of their animosities, keeps there: those of *Calabria*, specially along the Coasts, have the name of being the worst of all; so that 'tis turned into a proverb, *He is as wicked as a Calabrese*. The best part of the Kingdom is, *Terra di Lavoro*, which is all the Countrey about *Capua* and *Naples*: There are but three good Havens able to receive a Fleet, *Brundisi, Taranto* and *Trani*; for *Gaëta, Napoli, Puzzuolo, Bari* and *Otranto*, are neither safe nor great enough. 'Tis said, that the Cities, Lands or Castles in the Kingdom come to 2573, the least of which will

will make 500 Souls, or thereabouts: They have good Souldiers, but proud, treacherous and inconstant for the generality; yet there are brave men amongst the Nobility, I mean for Civility, Courage and Valour. The chief strong Holds of the Kingdome have Garrisons of Natural *Spaniards*, by whom they are strangely oppressed, as by them they were conquered.

They are Governed by a *Spanish* Vice-King, to whom this people is given as a prey, that he may make himself amends for the expences he hath been at in some chargeable Ambassage, or a reward for some service he hath done to the Crown; so that in three years, which is the usual prefixed time for the exercise of that Authority (because the Court of *Spain* would not have Subjects to grow too potent in those parts) they squeeze and oppress that people with an infinite number of Taxes, and other heavy burthens; the Nation being look't upon by them as Factious, Seditious, and desirous of Novelties; so that the Vice-Kings rules with a despotick Authority; and let him do what he

pleases in this kind, people must never look for redress, he not being accountable for things of this nature ; Besides that, the City, or any part of the Kingdom may not send upon any occasion an Agent or Deputy into *Spain* without a special License from the Vice-King, which he grants very seldom : Neither are the Nobility free from oppressions, being drag'd into Prisons, or driven into Exile upon the least suspicion that they grow too potent, or are any wayes disaffected. The insolencies of the *Spanish* Souldier, and others of that Nation, are not at all punished ; the very high - way men, and other Rogues, who are as thorns in the sides of the people, and who vex, disturb, and plague them, are winked at, except it be upon a jealousy of State : So that, that formerly flourishing Kingdom, and full of all manner of necessary and delightful things is at this day brought to an utmost misery ; that Nation not being allowed so much as liberty of trading with strangers, or selling their Inland Commodities, but upon certain conditions, and a Licence well paid for:
and

and all the Gold which *Camis* gathered there, is sent into *Spain*, which doth amount to vast summs. The Duke *Medina delus torres los velez*, told one day the *Cavaliero Domenico Zane*, then Ambassadour at the *Spanish* Court from *Venice*, that in six years of his Government of that Kingdome, he raised 44 Millions of Crowns to supply the occasions of the Dakedome of *Milan*, and of *Flanders*, Monies are drawn from thence with a number of Souldiers to serve in the wars, that are made in the forenamed Countries : These and many other intollerable oppressions caused the great and many insurrections that have been there, which cost so much blood, not onely in the times of troubles, but long after, it being the custome of *Spaniards* to punish to the Tenth Generation those faults which have been committed against the State. For all this, the Nobility of that Kingdom triumphing over their miseries, and boasting of their slavery, are high and proud, & yet gentle and courteous in their carriage, though they insult over the common people, they spend beyond their estates,

are splendid in an outward shew, but frugal at home, loyal to the King, Enemies to the people, slaves of Royal Ministers, and very hard to their vassals, whom they pinch to the very bones : with all this they hate the *Spanish* Nation.

Out of this, one may judge of that enmity which is between the *Napolitans*, specially the people and the *Spaniards* ; there is never a year but hundreds of these last are killed by others, either at night in the streets of *Naples*, or in the fields, when Fruits and Grapes grow ripe ; this people, and so those of *Milan*, are grieved to see how those same *Spaniards* who come to them in a low and a poor condition, and with *Capatos de Guerda*, within a year or two do live very high, out of the blood and substance of the Country. So that the *Spaniards* being so hard Masters, they keep what they have in this Kingdom only, by the means of the division which is in it ; so they keep all what they have in *Italy*, onely because the *Italians* suffer them to enjoy it for fear of falling into the hands of worse Masters,

sters, not that they can have worse, but because they are not so sensible at injuries received from *Spaniards*, as those which they have suffered from some other Nations, not as to the things, but as to the manner of doing them; the *Spaniard* layes heavy burthens and impoverishes them, and upon suspicions and jealousies of state takes away mens lives; nay, he attempts upon the honour of families, but he carries it with more secrecie and circumspection then other lighter Nations, whose manner of proceeding seems more insolent; besides that, the *Spanish* haughtiness and gravity is more sutable to the *Italian* temper. Further, *Spain* and other Dominions belonging to it, ~~being remote from Italy~~, being remote from *Italy*; the *Italians* do not account them altogether so dangerous, as other martial Nations who are at hand. However, if the late Duke of *Guise* had play'd his game well in *Massanello's* time, and well us'd that conjuncture, he could have given them a great check in that Kingdome, but unadvisedly he left the City, which was at his Devotion, and he kept a
number:

number of insolent persons about him, which ever undid the *French Affairs* in *Italy*.

The City of *Naples* is great and populous, they reckon, that with the late Plague 200000 died in it. Churches there are a Sanctuary to Malefactors, which hath been often an occasion of falling out between the Vice-Kings and Cardinal *Filomarini* late Arch-Bishop, for some of those having upon occasion caused these Malefactors to be taken by force out of these Churches; he threatned, and did actually excommunicate some for breaking, as he pretended, the priviledges of those Churches, as if the House of God (if such a name may be given to such places) was to be a Sanctuary to, and a den of thieves. There are three Castles in this City, one is *St. Elme* upon a Mountain, built by King *Robert* the first, the other is *Castel-novo* in the port which keeps communication with the Palace of Vice-Kings nigh to it; this was built by *Charles*, brother to *Lewis* the 9th of *France*: the third is, *Dell-Ovo*, which is upon a Rock in the Sea, *William* the third

third of *Normandy* built it. There are also several fair Churches embelished with rare pictures, and other ornaments, so there are two Cabinets worth seeing. At the end of one of the Suburbs, in the way to *Puzzuolo*, is, *la Grotta di Lucullo*, a way made through the Rock of almost a mile in length, and broad enough for three Coaches when they are gotten in't: I shall not mention all the relicks of antiquity which are seen in the way to *Puzzuolo*, when one is at it, and at *Baya*, as the *Elisian Fields*, and those other things so often mentioned in the Poets; nor the mount *Vesuvius*, now *la Montagna di Somma*, these things are out of my purpose. I return to *Naples*, and say, that the *Virtuosi* there are called some *Ardenti*, others *Intronati*; and 'tis to be observed, that when these Societies take a name, 'tis either a title of imperfection, which betokens a privation, or of a moral virtue, or of some habit of the intellect, and all this to shew that they esteeme and study the perfection, contrary to the defect signified by the name.

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I am loath to omit speaking of a custome of the *Napolitans*, for all their reserved temper once a year, at Vintage time they allow themselves a very great liberty of jesting one with another; the meanest person is then allowed to jeer the Noblest man of the land, who use to begin with them; they give one another all the bad names which their language doth afford, whereof the least at another time would cause murthers and stabbings. This calls to my mind a singular custome they have at *Rome*, when there is fallen some snow, at which time the most reserved and vertuous men and women throw balls one at another; the Princes and their Wives practise it one with another within their Palaces: Neighbours throw it through the windows into the chambers one of another; if one hath any kindness for another, 'tis the fashion to go under the window, and throw in some, as they receive some, if they go by the door of any of their acquaintances; and this is amongst them a token of civility and favour, and so much observed, that if any Gentleman or friend
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of mine comes to me, the most vertuous woman that happens to be my Neighbour, can shew me no greater respect nor kindness then to throw at him snow balls.

Before I speak of the secrets of State, which the *Spaniards* have in relation to this Kingdome, 'twill not be amiss to speak few words of some maxims they have in general; relating to the rest of their state dominions in *Italy*. At *Madrid* for the affairs of *Italy*, there is a particular council consisting of six Counsellours, whereof two are *Napolitans*, two *Sicilians*, and two of *Milan*, besides the President, who ever is a *Spaniard*, and now the Marquess of *Vellada* by name; This Council was instituted by *Philip* the Second, no other Affairs but those of *Italy* are treated of in it, which formerly belonged to the cognizance of the Council of *Aragon*. When first of all the *Spaniards* came to *Italy*, and had gotten footing in it, they went about by fair means to insinuate themselves into the affection of the Nation, to turn it upon occasion to their own advantage; but the *Italians*, who

as they say of themselves, *Dormono Co'll Occhio aperto*, who are constantly a wake, stood upon their guards, and observed the *Spanish* motion, which being taken notice of by the House of *Austria*, *Charles* the 5th, and then the Council I spoke of just now under his Son *Philip* the second, took another course, and went about to terrifie them with their Armes, to draw some to them with fair promises, to threaten others, to sow divisions amongst them, but above all they lookt upon the Republick of *Venice* as a great lett to their designs, having ever appeared to be the Champion of the Liberties of *Italy*; the troubles wch this raised in those parts, sometimes against *Mantoa*, other times against *Savoy*, &c. are well known; but now a constant maxime they hold, is, to get at *Rome* as many Cardinals as they can to be their friends, that if possible they may every time have a friend of theirs chosen *Pope*, the truth is, they are potent in the conclave, because of several *Napolitans* and *Milanefes* who are in it, the several means they have to gratifie Church-men, by conferring benefices

nesses on them within their dominions in *Italy*, and by selling Lands and States to others within the same, besides the many pensions which they allow to several of them: so that whilst the *French* hath but eight or ten of his side, namely, *D'Este, Ursini, Antonio, Grimaldi, Mancini, Maldachini, Vendom, deRets*, the greater number of them are for the *Spaniard*; 'tis true 'tis very chargeable for them to keep this party, and a *Spanish* States-Man had reason to say, *It were better for his King to buy Popes ready made, then to make them.*

But now in few words, *Spaniards* do govern *Naples* with these few rules; the first is, to hold good correspondency with the *Pope*, not onely because they do him homage for it, but because he is a next neighbour, much able to trouble it, and to foment and assist insurrections in it. The Second is, to foment divisions between the Nobility and the people, and between the Nobility themselves, who being all together United, could for certain drive them out; and though the *Napolitans* horse's back be much gall'd, if he could
gather

gather his strength together, he would be able to shake off the Rider. The third maxime is, as much as they can to make great States fall into the hands of women, whom they marry afterwards to *Spanish* Noble Men.

The Chief Families of that Kingdom are at present *Caraccioli*, whereof the Duke of *Apelina* is the head ; *Caraffa*, *Pignatelli* who had the title of Duke of *Monteleone*, *Monaldesqui*, *Aquaviva*, *Brancaccio*, and several others who have the name of Princes, as *Marana*, &c. The ancient family of the Princes of *Salerno* is extinct as to the name, and their Palace at *Naples*; which was very stately, hath these several years been possessed by the Jesuites.

I shall not say much of *Sicily*, 'tis governed by a Vice-King at present ; the Duke of *Albuquerque*, as *Don Pedro d'Arragon* is he of *Naples* : This Island is known to be plentiful ; and as formerly it was the Granary of *Italy*, so 'tis still of part of it, but specially of *Maltba*, for the Gallies of the Order come almost every week to transport corn out of it. *Messina* drives a great trade of Silks; the

Inhabitants have still their *est* & *non est*, that is, when any thing is proposed by the Vice-King or his Order, after a debate had thereupon to satisfie the people they cry out *non est*, if it be not contrary to their priviledges; if it be, they say, *est*, then every one gets to his arms. This City hath several priviledges, but cannot get them confirmed at *Madrid*; neither do the Vice-Kings dare to trust themselves amongst them; therefore they reside at *Palermo*, which was the landing place of *Don Pedro d' Arragon*, when with the monies he had received from *Lewis* the 9th of *France*, to make war against the Infidels in *Affrica* he went to drive *Charles d' Anjou*, *Lewis's* Brother, out of the Kingdome, whereof he was a lawful Sovereign. The people of this Island speak a very corrupt *Italian* Language, mixed with some words of corrupt *Greek*; and as their Language is, so are their manners, and nature, which how treacherous it is, let the *Sicilian Vessers* bear witness; by which action they are become not only odious, but also a proverb to *Italy*, having thereby been the authour of all
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the disturbances wherewith the *Spanish* Nation have since afflicted those parts of the world ; it had been something in withdrawing from the subjection of one (who though he was their lawful Prince , yet he was of a forreign Nation) they had gotten their liberty ; yet Princes may see of how dangerous a consequence is this president : but to leave the bad for the worse, 'tis to find a pain wherein they look't for a pleasure, that is , to be no more reasonable then were the Frogs, who rejected the Reed to have the *Stork* to rule over them ; they should have learned of the Fish, how it is better to keep in the Pan, though amidst boyling water, then to leap out and fall into the burning flames and fire.

Mount Ætna, now *Gibello*, with some of his flames, is still to be seen at a short distance from *Syracusa*, which is much decay'd, they shew some old standing ruines of a Castle, as they say of *Dyonisius* ; they affirm 'twas in the shape of a shell ; in the centre of which was the Tyrants Closet, whence by the means of some pipes, which conveyed the voice, he

he heard (if we believe the tradition) every word spoken by the prisoners; 'tis probable that such a thing may be, there being things of that nature in several parts, though these prisoners were at a great distance from the Closet.

The *Spaniards* govern this Land almost by the same maxims which they use in *Naples*, only they let them have some few priviledges in consideration of their withdrawing from the *French*, and giving themselves up to them; nevertheless, the *Spaniards* are much odious to them by reason of the great and many oppressions they suffer from them, for the which no body pities them, since they brought it upon themselves; however, 'tis the division of the two chief Cities *Messina* and *Palermo* about precedency and other things, which upholds the *Spaniards* Authority in the Island: for when one of these Cities stands up, the other stoops, and they do every thing in opposition one to another; the *Spaniard* therefore knoweth how much it imports to his interest to see these differences continue, he fo-

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ments it with the best of his skill, and to the utmost of his power.

It were in vain to speak of *Sardegna*, seeing the people in it are become *Spaniards* in every thing. There hapned in it not long since a great division caused by falling out between two of the chief persons of the Island, but having been both transported into *Spain*, the factions were dispersed, and gave way to a general tranquility : This is a Kingdom, and therefore is Governed by a Vice-King, who was lately *Prince Ludovisio*. This Island, as that of *Sicily* and *Naples* maintain a number of Gallies, which of late is much diminished, for put them altogether with the Squadron of the Duke of *Tursi*, they do not come to above twenty.

The state of Milan.

THE Dukedome of *Milan* is as good and as plentiful a Country as any in *Italy*, full 300 miles about, plain and even ground ; in it are many Lakes full of fish, and is watered by considerable Rivers

Rivers, which make it pleasant, plentiful and strong; *Poe* runs by *Cremona*, the *Tanaro* by *Alessandria*, and the *Bormia*, which is a little one not far off. *Adda* nigh to *Lodi* and *Ticcino* by the walls of *Pavia*, by *Milan* run two Channells, one of which is of great use (and this goes through it) and both for watering of grounds, whence it is that they have so good pastures; hence it is that this Dukedom doth furnish with Cheese all *Italy* and other places; the best sort of that which goes under the name of *Parmesan* is made at *Lodi*, one of the Cities of the Dukedome, and its Territory. This Country doth also produce abundance of all manner of Corn, good Fruits, and good Wines; this goodness of the Soyle, joyned to the industry of the people, makes it very rich; it contains many Cities, as *Milano*, *Pavia*, *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, *Della Paglia*, *Novarra*, *Mortara*, *Vigevano*, *Cremona*, *Lodi*, *Como* and *Lomellina*, every one strong, and except *Mortara* the head of a Territory, which borrows its name from the Town. This Dukedome is Governed by one sent from *Spain*, and hath

hath the name of Governour, who was *Don Lewis de Gusman ponce de Leon* : And now the *Marquess de Los Balbases* : These Governours improve well their time, which, as I said in the case of *Naples*, is for three years, or thereabouts, except they be confirmed; and this makes part of the misery of that people, that every three years they have new and greedy Ministers, who make haste to be rich, and when they begin to be full, they are gone to give place to one who is as hungry as they were. The King of *Spain* raises here one Million of Crowns a year, but it goes all for the necessities of the State. In time of peace there are kept 5000 men; there was a strong hold, called the *Fort Sandoval*, which commanded the way into one of the Gates of *Vercelli*, which is but a Cannon-shot off, and 'twas raised to bridle that place; but the *Spaniards* after the taking of *Vercelli* demolished it not long since as a thing chargeable, and not necessary; but by the late treaty of Peace with *France*, they restored *Vercelli* to the Duke of *Savoy*.

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The City of *Milan* is called the great, for 'tis of a large circumference, full of people, and of handi-craft-men, almost of all sorts, in so good repute amongst the *Italians*, that when any sumptuous clothes or furnitures are to be bought, or any considerable equipage is to be made, to the very Liveries, they send thither to have it done: They work much in Silks, Gold and Silver threed, and make admirable good Gun-barils; all this maintains abundance of weak and poor people. In this place is a Castle, esteemed one of the strongest in *Europe*; well provided with Ammunition and Artillery; there is a particular Governour of it, who doth not depend upon the Governour of the Dukedome, but hath his Orders immediately from *Spain*. In this City is a very great number of stately Churches, specially the *Domo*, all built with white Marble; they say about it are 600 Statues, which cost 1000 Crowns a piece: if this Church be once finished according to the design, none but *St. Peter* in *Rome* will be able to compare to it, till then this last will be the fairest in *Europe*,

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rope, and I believe of the world, for all the great commendations given to that of *Santa Sophia* in *Constantinople*. I return to *Milan*, and say, not onely there are in't fair Churches, but also sumptuous Cloysters, Hospitals, Palaces, and other Noble Buildings : A Churchman there hath a fine Cabinet full of Rarities, most of his own invention and making. *Virtuosi* in *Milan* have the name of *Nascosti* ; but I must not omit to say, that the house which the *Carthusians* have 15 miles from *Milan*, and five from *Pavia*, is the best of their Order.

Notwithstanding the Proverb that the King of *Spain* governs *Sicily* in meekness, or *Dolcezza*, *Naples* by fraud or *con Inganno* and *Milan* by Authority, *con Authorita* (which may be understood in relation to the strong holds he hath in it :) 'Tis his maxime of State, to Rule this Dukedome with more Gentleness, then the rest of his Dominions in *Italy* : This practice is enforced by the temper of the people, who are not so willing nor so apt as others to suffer abuses, burthens exceedingly,

ceedingly heavy, nor other great oppressions, their spirits can hardly bear it; they are of an humour free, open, plain, and as they call it, *Rozzo*, being usually called the *Lombard's temper*: That which makes further the *Spaniards* more circumspect in this, is that many neighbour Princes would willingly receive and assist them, if they came to have a pull for their liberty, for they joyn with the Duke of *Mantua*, the *Venetians*, with *Parma*, *Genoa*, *Piedmont*, and with the *Grisons*, by the *Valtelline*; therefore the *Spaniards*, who knew the importance of that passage to them, struggled so hard for it, and set all *Europe* in an uproar about it: Yet for all this gentleness of theirs used to the *Milanese*, that people is not free from grievances and oppressions. That Country which for a long while together hath been the seat of War, hath been obliged to maintain in a good measure the *Spanish*, *Germans*, *French*, *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Mantuan* forces, the perpetual lodging, quartering and contributing, for the Souldiers hath wasted them; and all this hath been a pretense

for the *Spanish* Ministers to oppress them : The *Italian* proverb saith, that the *Spanish* Ministers in *Sicily* *Rodono* they *Gnaw*, in *Naples* *Mangiano* they eat, but in *Milan* *Divorano* they devour : but they bear it, seeing that excepting the Republicks, the Subjects of other Princes are used no better then they.

At first the *Sforzi* got this Country from the *Visconti*, and the House of *Austria* hath gotten it from these, yet the *Venetians* have of it *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema* : I will not shew whose right it is to have it, if the Heirs of *Valentina* have it not. The Chief Families of it are now *Borromeo*, *Trinultio*, *Stampa*, *Trotti*, *Sforza*, *Homodei*, *Litta*, &c.

Finale is a Town well fortified, of great concernment to the *Spaniard*, for 'tis the only door they have to get into *Milan* from *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, &c. It is also a bridle to the *Genoesi*. *Portolongone* and *Orbitelle* are also upon the Coasts, the one on the *Continent*, the other close by upon a *Rock* in the Sea, of great importance to bridle the grand Duke, *Viareggio* belonging to *Luca*, and the *Genoesi*. The

The state of the Duke of Savoy.

THe Duke of *Savoy* is the most Considerable Prince of *Italy*, after the Crowned heads; He comes from *Humbert*, a younger Brother of *Saxony*, and a man of fortune: *Comte Verd*, or *Green Earle*, so called, because usually his clothes were of that colour, as were those of his Followers; by his merits and good fortune raised himself to a great credit; he did great Services against Infidels, specially at the first Siege of *Rhodes*, and then he took the Motto about the Coat of Armes which to this day that Family retaines; *F. E. R. T.* signifying, *Fortitudo Ejus, Rhodum Tenuit*. His History is in *Fresco* at the pleasure-house of the Dukes at *Rivoli*. This Family was first Earles of *Moriene*, then by Marriage and favour of some Emperour, Princes of *Piemont*, and Dukes of *Savoy*, and of late from the Duke of *Mantua*, they have gotten *Trin* and *Alba* in *Monferrat* by the treaty of *Chierasco*, so that

besides *Piemont* with its Vallies, and *Savoy*, the Duke hath upon the Sea-coasts *Villa franca*, *Oneglia* and *Nizza di provenza*, with as strong a Castle as any in *Europe*, his Dominions indeed are large, though to speak the truth *Savoy* is a barren and a mountainous Countrey, which defect is somewhat made up by the indefatigable laboriousness of the people, and by the populousness and plenty of *Piemont*.

His Court is for certain the Ornament of *Italy*, not composed of a vast number of persons, nor solitary neither; there is in it a variety without confusion, well compacted, consisting of choice persons, well qualified for a Court in a handsome and orderly way; In it the *French* and *Italian* languages are commonly spoken, and the free *French* manner of life is practised in it. These Princes have been, and are still very Honourable in *Europe*; for this long while Emperours and Kings have given them the title of *Serenissime*, when some other Princes of *Italy* did not so much as pretend to it: but it happened in the dayes of *Pope Urban* the 8th, that

that he (it may be to please his Nephews) gave a higher title to Cardinals then they had before, the title of *Illustriſſime* was changed into that of *Eminentiffime*; this obliged ſome Princes to take the title *Sereniffime* and of Highneſs; upon which account ſtill to keep a diſtinction between them and other Princes, the Dukes of *Savoy* added *Reale to Altezza* to make up *Royal Highneſs* which they pretend to, as being titular Kings of *Cyprus*, and ſo by virtue of a match with *France*, the *French* did not oppoſe it; and this Duke is now in hopes that the King or Prince Regent of *Portugal* (being now himſelf owned to be a Crowned Head) by reaſon of the late Marriage, or that which is to be made with that Prince Regent, and the Dutcheſſe's Siſter will approve of it, but upon what grounds I diſpute not.

This Duke is Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, he could not yet obtain from the Emperour the Inveſtiture of what he hath in *Monferrat*; however of late the Electoral Colledge at the Sollicitation of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, whoſe

present Elector married his Sister, did something on his behalf, to wit, made a Decree, that his not being Invested by the Emperour shall be no prejudice to his Right, seeing he had used his diligence to obtain it. 'Tis a thing which raises much the glory of this Prince, that he hath several of his Subjects descended from Emperours of *East* and *West*, Kings, other Sovereign Princes, and of the Chief Families of *Italy*; in *Piedmont* alone are above fifty Earles, fifteen Marquesses at least; this makes him the more Considerable, and adds something to his Strength, which on the other side doth consist in the largeness of his Dominions, the Number, Affection and Fidelity of his Subjects; and in his strong places, of which the Castle of *Montmelian*, though taken by the *French*, is one of the chief in *Savoy*; they use to say, that their Prince hath a City which is 300 miles about, to shew how thick Towns are in it, and how populous it is: Another thing is, that the Duke is as absolute as any Prince in *Europe*. 'Tis said of *Charles Emanuel*, this Dukes Grand Father, that

that one day discoursing with *Henry* the fourth of *France*, and the King having asked which of the two Pistols (pieces of Gold) the *French* or *Spanish* he accounted the heaviest; his answer was, That which I shall give my grain to, meaning, that of the two Kings, he whom he would assist should be the strongest.

His Riches I will not mention, his yearly Income is said to amount to One Million, and Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, out of which *Savoy* and the Vallies yield him but Four Hundred Thousand, all which is Nobly spent. I must say however that Gold and Silver are scarce in his Dominions, which on the other side afford him a great plenty of all things, whereby all manner of provisions are at a low rate. Upon consideration of this, two several proposals were made to the present Duke by a judicious person; the first and less important was to settle a fixed and a constant Office for the convenience of Travellers, so that giving so much, they should be defrayed for their diet, and should be provided with

horses ; to this effect a correspondency was to be settled at *Lyon* as this had been convenient for strangers and safe, so it had made the monies of all those who enter *Italy* that wayes to passe through the hands of the Dukes Officers ; and these summs had been very considerable, seeing all those who go by land into *Italy* out of *Spain* in time of peace out of *France*, and parts of *Germany* come by the way of *Lion* ; this would have encouraged many to go that way who do not, helpt the sale of provisions, and brought Monies into the Countrey : but this proposal though approved, yet wanting a further encouragement came to nothing. The second is to make *Nizza*, or *Villa franca* a free port, any of these lyes convenient for Ships, this would bring in trade, and consequently monies, and would help the sale of the Lands Commodities : but I omit the reasons which are given to inforce this proposal, for I must come to other things.

Turin is the Metropolis of *Piemont*, and the ordinary place of the Dukes Residence, when he is not at his houses
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of pleasure, of which he hath as great a number of fine and convenient ones, as any other Prince; This City is well seated in a plain, the Rivers *Po* and *Doire* running not far from it; In the Court is an Office of the Admiralty, as they call it, of the *Po*, which is more for formality-sake, then for any benefit. In *Turin* are to be seen the Old and New Palaces, with the Garden, from the place to the New Palace to that of *St. Carlo* is on both sides a row of fine houses all uniform. I shall say nothing of Churches there, nor of the Countrey Houses, as *Rivoli*, *Moncallier*, *le Valentin*, *Millesieur*, and *la Veneria*, which is the present Dukes delight: but I must take notice that there is as good a Citadel as any in *Europe*, in which there is a Well into which one may go down to water a horse, and at the same time one can come up thence and not see one another. There are also Armes for 40000 men.

Many things I omit here to tell, that *Carlo Emanuele*, the present Duke, is a Prince well made of his person, of a middle stature, full face, with that natural

tural red which only doth imbelish it; his sight is none of the best, as it may be observed when he eats or reads; he loves hunting with some kind of excess, the scorching heat, nor the foulness of weather being not able to divert him from it; and by this constant course he hath brought himself into a capacity to endure any hardship; yet this passion doth not take him off his important business, which he is vigorous in, and follows it very close: He hath set days to give Publick Audience, at which time the least of his Subjects may speak to him without any disturbance at all, and he hears them very patiently; as he is an active man, so he takes cognizance of every thing, and imparts all to his Lady, who being a judicious Princess, and exceedingly complying with his Highness, she ever hath a place in his Closet, as in his Bed.

He is a Prince very civil to Strangers, and now frugal at hope, for he finds his Ancestors have been too free, so he hath been himself, but now says for a reason of his alteration, that as to Frugality he cannot imitate a greater
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Monarch then the King of *France*, with whom he hath a conformity of temper, joyned to a natural affection. His Inclination to Women hath been discovered by his actings with the Marchioness of *Cahours*, and is daily observed by those who follow his Court. His first Minister of State is the Marquess of *Pianezza*, of the Family *d' Allie*, and brother to *Count Philip*; a great Politician he is, and a greater Enemy to the Protestants of the Vallies of *Piemont*: His Son the Marquess of *Livorno* kept the place when he was lately retired for some distasts, though under pretence of Devotion. The Marquess *San Germano* Governour of *Turin* is of the same Family; The Marquess *Palavesin* Captain of the Guards is also much in favour; so is the Old Marquess of *Voghera*, whose Lady hath the oversight of the Maids of Honour, but none can boast of being his special Favourite. The Princes of the blood are few; the Young Prince of *Piemont*, Son to the Duke by this Wife, and Prince *Philibert*, with the Earle of *Soissons*, Sons to the late Prince *Thomas*. There is
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at Court a Princess, the Dukes Sister unmarried : There is a Natural Uncle of the Dukes, *Don Antonio* Governour of *Villa Franca*, and a Natural Son of the late *Victor Amedeo*, who lives privately in *France*.

This Princes Country is much exposed to the *French* power, whereby they have been stript twice, and therefore his Interest is to agree with *France*, for fear of bringing himself into the sad condition which the Duke of *Lorrain* is in, for the 18 or 20000 men which without any great inconveniency he can keep on foot could hardly save him; he is withall as handsomly as he can to prevent the *French* from settling in *Milan*, for then he would be shut up by them every way.

The state of the Grand Duke.

THE Family of *Medici*, of which are the Grand Dukes of *Toscany*, hath not been very long possessed of that Dignity, neither is it so ancient as are many others in *Italy*; when *Florence* was a
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Republick, 'twas one of the Chief, but no more then the *Strozzi*, *Pitty*, and some others were. *Alexander* began the work, but was quickly dispatched by his Cousin *Lorenzo*: Then came *Cosmo* who was the first named and Crowned Grand Duke by *Pope Pio Quinto* of his Family, *Ferdinand* who lett off the Cardinals Cap after the death of his Elder Brother, *Cosmo 2d.* and *Ferdinand 2d.*, who is the present Grand Duke. Some say a Phylitian was the first who raised the Family, and that in token of it, they took the Pile (but 'tis the Balls or Globes) for their Armes; they were raised by *Charles* the 5th the Emperour, who gave *Margarita* his Natural Daughter to *Alexandro*, and so forced the *Florentines* to submit to him.

The Grand Dukes are Creatures of *Clement* the 7th, and of *Charles* the 5th Emperour, with whose Armes and Countenancing, they became Masters of *Florence*; at present they are in possession of three formerly potent Republicks, to wit, *Florence*, *Pisa*, and *Siena*; they have all ancient *Toscany*, except
Luca.

Luca and *Sarzana*; hence is the proverb, which saith, If the Grand Duke had *Luca and Sarzana*, *Sarebbe Re di Toscana*, for he hath also the Cities of *Pistoia*, *Volterra*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Montepulciano*, and several other lands and Castles of a lesser importance, besides part of the Island *Alba*, where is *Cosmopoli*. When the Dukes came to the Government, the *Florentines* had subdued *Pisa*, wherefore the condition of that City is the worst of the three, for being a Conquer'd Countrey they are under the Jurisdiction of *Florence*; but *Siena* is Govern'd in the same way as when it was a Republick, owning none but the Grand Duke, or the Governour sent by him: Thus they have nothing to do at *Florence*, even they are used better then the *Florentines*, who being lookt upon as factious men, and desirous of liberty, are not onely disarmed, as all other Subjects are, but are more bridled too: A further reason is, that the Duke doth homage for it to the Crown of *Spain* (as he doth for *Radicofany* to the Pope) therefore he dares not take altogether the same liberty

berty there, which he uses in other places. *Pisa* is void of Inhabitants, but well seated, and hath in it several things worthy to be seen; the Grand Duke delights to be in't, therefore he comes to it, having the conveniency of a Forrest, which lies not far from it. *Siena* is a fine City, in a good Air, with good store of people in it, the *Italian* tongue is well spoken, the *Virtuosi* that are there, are called *Intronati*.

Florence, the place of the Courts ordinary residence is a stately City and very populous, there being accounted to be 100000 souls in it; the Gentry in it doth not think it below themselves to follow trade, which is specially of Silks, so that it may pass for a rich town; there are in it 10 or 12 families, accounted to be worth one Million of Crowns. There are three Castles, fine Churches, specially the *Domo*, which on the outside is all of white and black Marble, and that incomparable Chapel of *San Lorenzo*, for the which Marble is not rich enough to enter, as one of the Materials, but *Jasper*, *Agatha*, *Porphyry*, &c. There are further rare
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Palaces, and the Dukes Galleries exceedingly rich, the River *Arno* runs through it, there is that learn'd Society, called *la Crusca*.

The Grand Duke trading much under-hand, as it is thought, and being very frugal must be very rich; not to mention those rich Galleries of his esteemed worth above three Millions, but he draws to himself the best of his Dominions, there being hardly in the World a Countrey more oppressed with Customes and Taxes then this is, hence it is that except *Florence*, where trade doth flourish, and *Siena*, where is still some rest of liberty, the whole Country is the Grand Dukes, very little inhabited, and full of poverty, and this for fear those *Toscan* active wits should cause some disturbance; therefore he hath several strong holds, with a 1000 horse commanded by strangers, and about 4000 foot, besides the Militia's, which upon occasion ought to be ready. 'Tis a priviledge of the Horse-men, that they may not be Arrested for any debt whatsoever; so that any one that's affraid and in danger of it, uses all possible

sible means to get in amongst them.

This Prince for his person is a judicious man, and upon all occasions carries himself very politickly, besides the general genius of the Nation, the particular one of the *Florentines*, which goes beyond others, and his own natural parts : Having ruled these many years he hath gotten a great deal of experience ; therefore he knows admirably well how to *far' fatti Suoi*, to mind and do his businesses, whereat he is a *Cervellone*, as *Italians* call it. He carries his whole Council along with him, for he hath no constant nor fixed Counsellours but upon occasion he sends for whom he pleases to have their advice, but all resolutions do absolutely depend upon him ; so that the whole manner of his Government is to be attributed to him alone. He is extraordinary civil to strangers, specially if they be persons of Quality, and after they have had the Honour of waiting on him, he sends them a *Regale*, or a present of Fruits, Wines, &c. But of all Nations *Germans* are those who have the greatest priviledges about his person, and in his

his dominions, strangers of other Nations having any thing to do with his Searchers, and the like Officers, do free themselves of toyle and trouble, by saying they are *Germans*; and at present, amongst those many of that Nation who are at his service, there is one who is much in favour with him.

He will have an exact knowledge of the state of every thing within his dominions, therefore in 1645, having a mind to know the yearly Income of his Clergy, he caused an account to be made of it; 'twas found to amount to 765000 Crowns, whence one may guess he doth not neglect to know his own, which is thought to be of half a Million of *English* pounds, besides Casualties, of which he hardly spends the half; so that he must needs have many a Million in his Coffer; Indeed *Legorn* alone is worth a treasure to him, it being the most noted Store-house of all the *Mediterranean*, there being at it an extraordinary concourse of Ships from all parts, and 'tis a place well fortified; there is in it the Statue of *Ferdinand* the first, with four slaves in Brass, then
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the which nothing better can be seen in that kind. But to return to the Grand Dukes riches, he daily improves them with his frugality, for to save charges he hath lessened the number of his Gallies, having now but four, two of which are unfit for service; and to get monies he hires the others to Merchants to transport their Wares; formerly his Gallies lay along the Coasts to secure them from Pyrates; now they have Towers along the Sea shore, where they use to light fires when any Enemies or Pyrates appear, which gives a warning where the danger is. This Prince gathers monies on all hands, for at Florence, Legorn, and other places he receives Contribution from the *Cortegiane*, or prostitute women, for the toleration and protection he gives them; so that an injury done to any of those Infamous persons shall be punished, as if it had been done to the most vertuous in the world. But the Grand Duke is not satisfied to be frugal himself, he hath often exhorted the Grand Prince his Son to the practise of it, Son, saith he, *Non spender' quell' che tu hai perche, chi non*
bà

hà noneè; Do not spend what thou hast, for he who hath nothing, is nothing.

Another way of this Grand Duke to get monies, and wherein lies his great maxime of policy at home, is to keep his Subjects low; no people in the world lye under heavier Taxes and burthens then this doth; every house that is Let out, payes him the tenth part of the rent; every Contract of Marriage Eight by the hundred of the portion; and every one who will go to Law, afore he begins must pay two for the hundred, out of this one may judge of the rest; this usage makes that Prince to mistrust his Subjects, who are active, stirring, and men of pregnant parts, exceedingly desirous of, and breathing after liberty, for 'tis very hard for a people who lived a long while in a way of Republick, to bring themselves to live under a Monarch, so absolute and so hard as this is; so that upon this account the Grand Dukes strong places are all well furnished with Armes, Ammunition, and Provision, not onely to resist a forreign Enemy upon occasion,

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but to bridle his own Subjects ; which is indeed a sad case, when a Prince hath as many Enemies as he hath Subjects ; how can he think himself sure with those who hate and fear him, seeing any one who out of despair cares not for his life is ever the Master of another, specially in those parts where 'tis so much used, and where men are so skill'd at it ; and the Devil who is a murtherer from the beginning, omits no occasion to infuse bloody motions into his Hirelings. Happy is that Prince whose strongest fortress consists in the love of his Subjects, who hath not only their hands but their hearts along with him ; 'tis certain that of all Enemies the *Domestick* is the most dangerous, and the most to be feared. *Oderint dum metuant*, was a fit expression for such a man as *Tyberius*. Yet though the Grand *Duke* keeps his people so low, he hath left them a shadow of liberty, whereat they be somewhat satisfied, it consists in the use of those common Laws of Justice which they had in the time of the Republick.

Now to the maximes of State of this Prince

Prince in Relation to his Neighbours, the first is apparently to be united with *Spain*, yet in private to keep friendship and correspondence with *France*, which the *Spaniards* oftentimes have been much displeased at; and had some thoughts to resent it, but fearing least the remedy might prove worse then the disease, they have chosen to sit still. What he doth with *France*, the same he practises with the Republick of *Venice*: but that which he minds most of all, is to have a good number of Cardinals, and other useful persons of Quality his pensioners at *Rome*, to have none but those who be his friends chosen *Popes*, for the great'st storms he is affraid of are from thence, for knowing how matter is combustible at home, he fears least *Popes* would encourage and assist his people to recover that liberty which they are so much longing after, and there hath been some *Popes* who were born his Subjects, as one of the *Clements*, and lately *Urban* the 8th, who have given him or his Ancestours trouble enough.

Of his Family, Prince *Matthias* his Brother

Brother died lately, Governour of *Siena*, and now Prince *Leopold* is created Cardinal, his Son the *Grand Prince* his Heir Apparent is called *Cosmo*, who hath married the *Princess* of *Valois*, of the *French* Royal blood: for a long while there hath been an unhappy falling out between them, but now all differences are composed; by some the fault was laid upon one, and by others upon the other; 'tis not fit for men to search into the causes of falling out between Husband and Wife, specially when they are Princes; some particular ones I heard, which I do not mind, only one may say that the retired manner of life practised in *Florence* differs very much from that which is led at *Paris*, so that an *Italian* may happen to require a thing which a *French* Woman will have no mind to grant: I know in *Toscany* there are still some Noble and Ancient Families, but as the *Grand Dukes* have been very jealous of their Authority, they have either rooted out, or brought very low the Chief, and those of whom they were the most jealous.

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The state of Mantoa.

THe Family *Gonzaga* hath possessed the State of *Mantoa* since the year, 1328. at which time *Roberto Gonzaga* having expelled some petty Usurpers, he made himself Master of it; they enjoyed it without any Title till the year, 1432. when the Emperour *Sigismond* Created *Giovanni Francesco* Marquesse, and *Charles* the 5th, in the year, 1530. made *Federico* Duke of it; this Married *Margarita Paleologa* Heir to the Marquessate of *Monferrat*. The Titles of this Prince are these, Duke of *Mantoa*, Marquess of *Monferrat*, Prince, and perpetual Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, Marquess of *Gonzaga*, *Viadane*, *Dizzolo*, Earle of *Rodiga*, and Lord of *Luzara*.

These *Dukes* could formerly live in as great a splendour as any Prince in *Italy*, their equal, specially since *Monferrat* was united to their State, but since the late War made against the Duke *Charles* the first, in the year 1630. by
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the House of *Austria*, under pretence that he had not done homage to the Emperour, nor acknowledged him for his Sovereign, though the true reason was, because being born in *France*, he was by them suspected to be wholly inclined that way, and by the *Duke of Savoy*, who would have stript him of *Monferrat*, which is joyning to *Piemont*: their Strength is so weakned, and their Revenue, and yearly Income so lessened, that without the help of other *Princes* they cannot maintain their Garrisons, as it is in the case of *Cazal* that strong place, so that from above 300000 Crowns they had a year, they are brought to 80000, which yet are not clear. *Mantua*, formerly a most flourishing and very populous City, hath at present but few Inhabitants, and is full of misery, not caused by their *Princes* who have been the meekest of all *Italy*, but they could not rise up again since they were taken and plundered by the Imperial Army. The best Ornament of that City was, and is, still the *Dukes Palace*, where they reckon at least 550 Chambers very richly furnished with

hangings and bedding, there are 1000 Beds, and many rich Statues; but before the taking of the City, 'twas as they say, more stately and rich, then the Mills only of the City were worth 10000 Sterling a year. Upon occasion this *Duke* can raise 10000 Foot, but not to keep them very long, and 800 Horse: now the *Mantuan* Horse is esteemed the best of *Italy*.

There are more Sovereign *Princes* of this Family, then of any other in *Italy*, because Duke *Alfonso* having many Sons, would make every one of them a Sovereign; therefore by the Emperours consent, some Lands he separated from the Jurisdiction of *Mantua*, and others he bought; so that the Eldest Son was Duke of *Mantua*, another Prince of *Bozzolo*, a third Prince of *Sabionetta*, another Duke *di Guastalda*, a fifth Duke of *Novellara*, and a sixth Marquess of *Castiglione della Stivere*: but now *Sabionetta* as a Doury hath been alienated by a Marriage to the House *Caraffa* in *Naples*, and since, the Princess of *Stigliano* of this last Family being married to the Duke *Medina de*

lus torres los Velez, brought this State into his Family.

The late Duke *Charles* the 2^d, to unite himself the more to the House of *Austria*, (for the late Emperour had already married a Princess of his Family) took one of the Princesses of *Insprack* to his Wife; but for all this he neither was much trusted to, nor rewarded; the truth is, he was affected to *France*, whose interests he would not have separated from, if he had not thought himself slighted at *Paris*, and less respected then was the Duke *Francis* of *Modena*. This Duke of *Mantua* died not long since in the flower of his Age, leaving only a Son of 12 or 13 years old, who hath succeeded him. He was generally inclined to Women, but in particular to the Countess *Margarita di Cazale*: He was a great Gamester, and lost much money at *Venice*: Upon all occasions he was supplied by a Jew of *Mantua*, who almost ruled the Dukes Affairs to his own advantage, and to the Prince's loss. Jews are tollerated in *Mantua* to the number of above 5000, for the which they pay 20000 crowns,


or 5000 Sterling a year, the more willingly because they are obliged to no marks of distinction, as they are in all other places. The City of *Mantua*, as all others that are considerable in *Italy* hath some *Virtuosi* called *Invaghiti*.

It hath been a maxime of State of these *Princes* to be united to *France*, where they had the *Dukedoms* of *Nevers*, *Rethel* and *Mayene* which Cardinal *Mazarine* bought, the last for himself, the other two for one of his Nephews, and also to be united to the *Venetians*; to the first, because that King could fall heavy upon the *Duke* of *Savoy*, the perpetual and unreconcilable Enemy of his Family; to the last, because being his next Neighbours, they could assist him upon any occasion. The friendship which seems to be between this *Duke* and those of *Parma* and *Modena* is not real, by reason of some State-differences which hapned formerly between them: With the *Grand Duke* he hath had fallings out about the Precedency of their Ministers: though the *Grand Duke* hath larger dominions, the others Family hath been more Noble,

ble, and is more Ancient; besides the other reason of the enmity is, that the *Grand Duke* hath several Goods of his, for the portion of the Princess *Catharina di Medici*, married to *Duke Ferdinando*.

But the greatest Enmity of this House, is, against that of *Savoy* about *Monferrat*, and other things; their differences are so great, that no means can be found out to compose them: and here I must not omit to speak of the Treaty of *Chierasco* in reference to these differences: thereby the *Duke of Savoy* is put in possession of two good Cities of *Monferrat*, but some satisfaction is to be given for them to the *Duke of Mantoa*, therefore the *French* doth oblige himself to pay the *Duke of Mantoa* 494000 Crowns of Gold pretended by that House from *Savoy* for portions; but for the forenamed Summe, the *French* is put in possession of *Pinarolo*, and yet the *Duke of Mantoa* never asked those monies, protesting against that Treaty; so that upon occasion this may happen to be a ground of troubles in *Italy*.

The state of the Duke of Parma.

THE *Dukedoms* of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, two of the best Cities of *Italy*, have been possessed by the Family *Farneze* above these 122 years, after several revolutions they fell to the Church, and were at last by *Pope Paolo tertio*, given to *Pietro Luigi Farneze* his Son born afore he was a Church-man. *Charles* the 5th Emperour opposed it at first, but after the marriage of *Ottavio 2d Duke* with his Natural Daughter he approved of it; besides, the *Dukedomes* of *Parma* and *Piacenza* in *Lombardy*, he hath the *Dukedome* of *Castro*, and County of *Ronciglione* within the State of the Church, which the first was pawned to, and for want of paying the monies in the prefixed time, it was united and entailed to the Church, which is the worst that a *Turk* or a *Jew* can do to a *Christian*: yet notwithstanding the sufficient reasons to the contrary given by the *Duke*, that pretended Father of *Christians* played this unmerciful trick; and
 though

though of late by the means of the *French* King, this entail was cut off, as yet they could not bring the *Pope* to part with it, as he is obliged by the *Treaty of Pisa*; so well these *Popes* agree, the one to get, and the other to keep. Besides this the *Duke of Parma* hath some Lands in the Kingdome of *Naples* for the Doury of *Margarita* of *Austria* married to Prince *Ottavio*.

This *Prince* is perpetual Standard-bearer of the Church, to which his State is to fall in case he should die without Male Issue. Although he doth homage to the Church for the whole, he is nevertheless absolute for that; after the homage received, *Popes* having nothing to do in his dominions. *Urban* the 8th was a great enemy to this Family; he took *Castro*, and had it demolished; he would have ruined *Odoardo* then *Duke*, and Father to this present, who was a wise and a valiant Prince; but *Italian* Princes expressing to be dissatisfied at it; he was obliged to be quiet, having raised upon the Frontiers of *Parma*, that strong place called *la Fortezza Urbana*. This Fa-

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mily hath given the world some men of great repute, specially him who was Governour of the *Low-Countries*; the losse of *Castro* hath been a great prejudice to the *Duke*, yet he hath still a matter of 400000 Crowns a year: the *Apennini* are as a Wall to his State, which joyned to many Rivers, and some strong Holds, makes his Country considerable; he keeps nigh upon 5000 men, but in case of necessity he could bring into the field 20000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, the half he can bring forth without inconveniency; he hath much Nobility in his dominions, and he is very jealous of them, specially of those of *Piacenza*, because the first *Duke* was kill'd there.

What manner of Cities are *Parma* and *Piacenza* I will not describe, nor the curiosities to be seen in them; I name nothing, only let this general rule be taken, in every good City of *Italy*, one is to see the Churches, wherein consists their Glory, their Palaces, Gardens, Houses of pleasure, Cabinets, &c. all which are embelished with Statues, Pictures in *Oleo*, in *Fresco*, and *Mosaick*

saick works, wherein Porphiry, Marble, and such rich materials are often used; this I say to free my self from making descriptions which might make up a great Volume, I only take notice that in *Parma* are some Academists, called *Innominati*.

The present *Duke Ranuccio*, a man of a fat complexion, as yet hath no children, his first Wife being dead, he is again married to the Sitter of the late *Duke of Modena*, he hath Prince *Alessandro Farnese* his Brother, who hath been in the service of the *Venetians*, and came off with some discontent; at present he serves in *Spain*. There is now at *Rome* Cardinal *Farneze*, but he is not very nigh Kinsman, I am sure he did not act the part of a good Kinsman, when he found out some wayes to sell his Principality of *Farneze* to the Pope for *Don Mario* for 80000 crowns, and a Cardinals Cap, excluding thereby the *Duke of Parma* from that Succession, in case the Branch should fail; but an Entail having afterwards been found out, the Pope called for his monies, and restored the Principality, how-
ever

ever he is Cardinal by the bargain ; the best Palace in *Rome* is *Farneze*, built after the direction of *Michel Angelo Buonarotta* ; and one of the best Countrey-pleasure-houses of *Italy*, is *Capra-rola* in the County of *Ronciglione*, belonging to the Duke of *Parma*.

Till of late, since the dayes of *Charles the 5th*, 'twas a constant maxime of State of these Princes to keep close to the House of *Austria* ; but *Odoardo* the late Duke being unsatisfied with the Earle and Duke of *Olivares*, he left that Union, and they have since sided with *France*, as the fittest power to uphold them in their Quarrels against the Pope, which will be a continual ground of troubles in *Italy*, and an occasion of bringing the *French* into it. One thing more is, That these Dukes do more willingly make use of Strangers to be their Ministers when they find them qualified for't, then of their own Subjects.

The state of Duke of Modena.

THE Family *D'estè*, though we put it here last, is much more Ancient and Richer then the two former, yet according to that period which is set to Families of Princes, and their Dominions, this hath lost something of its Ancient Greatness. They derive their Pedigree from *Atto* Marquess of *Estè*, who took the Surname, which now his Family keeps, from the City *Estè*, which doth still belong to it: This Married *Alda*, Daughter to the Emperour *Otho* the First, in the Year, 1000. and had with her, *Modena* and *Reggio*. *Theobaldo d' Estè* *Otho*'s Grand-Child, had in the Year, 1055 *Ferrara* from Pope *John* the 12th, which was in the Year, 1598 taken from them by *Clement* the 8th, after the death of *Alfonso* the 2d, for want of Lawful Heirs Males: yet there was *Cesare d' Estè* whom *Alfonso* had from *Laura Ferrarese* who would have proved that his Father had Married his Mother, and so that he was a
Lawful

Lawful Heir, but the proofs of the *Pope* who had already taken possession of the place, were the strongest: Yet that Family still pretends to it, affirming they come from a Lawful Heir, though *Popes* will have him to have been a Natural Son; and this as to precedency wrongs that family, for other Princes will not grant them as *Dukes* of *Modena*, onely what they had as *Dukes* of *Ferrara*, although their standing *Dukes* of *Modena* be from *Borso d' Este*, who had the title given him by *Frederick* the 3^d Emperour in the year 1460. The City hath been a great looser by this change, for instead of the Seat of a Court, 'tis now made a City of War, and of 80000 souls that were in it under the *Dukes*, there's now hardly 20000.

However this *Duke* is still in possession of the Dukedomes of *Modena* and *Reggio*, the Principalities of *Carpi* and *Correggio*, the Earldome of *Roli*, and the Lordships of *Sassevil*, *Garfagna* and *Frignano* by the late Treaty of *Pisa*; his dispute with the *Pope* about the Vallies of *Commachio* was decided, being to receive as he did 400000 Crowns for them,

them, 40000 more of damages, and some other advantagious conditions: all these lands with some others which he hath still in the Dukedom of *Ferrara*, yield him every year full 500000 Crowns; all his Dominions joyning one to another, makes him the more considerable; his strength therefore consists in the number of his people; the only Province *Carfagnana* is said to contain 80 places walled about; he hath also several strong Holds; upon extraordinary Occasions he is able to bring into the field 20000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and he can without inconvenience keep the half of the number, however his Country lies somewhat open to several neighbouring Princes, not for want of good places, of which he hath many, seated at a proportionable and convenient distance one from another, but because that Country lies upon an even ground; in his Citadel of *Modena*, are as they say, Armes for 40000 men; this City is not in repute with other *Italians*, who call it *Modena la pazza*.

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These Princes observe the general maximes of their Neighbours, to have a good correspondency with *Venice*, which ever was lookt upon as the Protector of the Liberties of *Italy*: Since the loss of *Ferrara* they kept close to the *Spaniards*, but of late their Interest made them change their affections; for Duke *Francis* was in the late *Italian* War, made General of the *French*, and *Mazarin's* Neece married to Prince *Almerigo* his Son, who hath left a young Prince to succeed him. At present all things are done after the advice of Cardinal *D'Este*, Protector of the *French* Interest at *Rome*, and the promoter of the late Union of his Family to *France*; He is a Prince very active and stirring, who lives at *Rome*, when he comes there, with greater pomp, and more splendour then any other Cardinal whatsoever; he is zealous for the *French*, by whose Friendship his Family is much better with monies, being enriched with the late Generalship: So is the Country, for in winter the Head Quarters were in *Modena*, whereto resorted all the Great Officers,

Officers, and a great number of inferior ones; this somewhat helped the poor people to pay those Taxes that are laid so heavy upon them; at present there is one of their name, and kinsman afar off, *Don Carlo d'Este*, if I mistake not, a Subject born to the Duke of *Savoy*, who is a Knight of the Order of the Fleece, whom I have seen attending on the Empress at *Alexandria*, *Pavia*, &c.

The Duke of *Modena* hath this advantage above most Princes in *Italy*, that he hath some of his Subjects who have *Feudi Fiefs* of the Empire; we find many great Families in his Dominions, as the rich Earles, *di San Paolo*, the *Bentivogli Ragoni*, *Buoncompagni*, the Marquesses *Spilimbergo*, *Peppoli*, *Gualengo*, *di Vignola* and *Gualteri*. The Earles *Caprari*, *San Martino*, *di Molsa*, *di Maluissia*, *Montecuculi*, *Tassoni Ferrarese* *di Conoscia*, and few others; the present Duke being very young, we have nothing to say as to his person; and though he were older, we could say of him that which must be spoken of some others, they are reserved, and live retiredly;

retiredly ; so that strangers, for any long while have not very free excess to their Courts and Persons.

The state of Venice.

NOW to go on, I must say something of the Republicks. I do confess I am much at a stand when I see my self obliged to speak of *Venice* ; the abundance of matter is often to a man a greater hinderance then help, when he must pick out that which is onely fit for his purpose ; to speak well of a Republick esteemed a miracle of Nature, and a Prodigy of Art, the tongue of an Angel is necessary : 'Twere too trivial to say, that this Republick was founded above 1246 years agoe, by those who from *Aquileia*, *Padoa*, &c. fled from the cruelty of *Affita* : they were Governed by *Tribunes* till the year, 697 at which time they made a Head called *Doge*, and they chose *San Marco* to be their Protectour ; wherefore a *Lyon* holding a Book, is their Armes.

The Government was part *Aristocracy*, and part *Democracy*, but at the time when *Pietro Gradenigo* was *Doge* in the year, 1280. It was resolved in the Senate, that the Government should hereafter belong to the Nobility alone; and to avoid oppositions, all the Families that were in some Esteem amongst the people, were declared Nobles, as it hath been practised afterwards upon urging occasions, as in the Wars against *Genoa*, and lately in the Wars against the *Turk*, 100000 crowns being paid by every one who is made such, besides that he must be otherwise qualified for it. In the Majesty and perpetuity of the Duke, there is a shadow of Monarchy, but the strength and the Authority resides in the Senate; their Dominion is of a great extent. In *terra ferma* they have *Dogado*, *La Marca Trevigiana*, *Padoano*, *Vicentino*, *Veronese*, *Feltrino*, *Bellunese*, *Bresciano*, *Beragamasco*, *Cremaasco*, &c. there is further *il Friuli*, with many considerable Cities in it, as *Udine*, *Palma*, and that strong hold *Palma Nova*. *Istria* with four good Cities, and many Lands.

Lands and places. Out of *Italy* they have *Dalmatia*, with the Islands thereto belonging, and the chief Cities of *Zara*, *Cliffa*: *Catara*, and few other places in *Albania*; in the *Levante*, *Corfù*, *Cefalonia*, *Cerigo*, *Zante*, and some other Islands in the *Arcipelago*; and the Sovereignty of all the *Golfo* from *Venice* to *Otranto*, and to *la Vallona*, which is seven hundred miles in length; of the Kingdom of *Candia*, they have nothing but the City.

It would require whole Volumes, if one would insist upon the manner of their Government in general, seeing they have been curious to gather the quintessence of all the good Laws and Statutes which ancient and modern Republicks had, which they make use of upon occasion: they have above 60 Courts of Judicature, such a diversity being necessary for them to employ so many Noblemen they have. I will hardly mention the *Gran' Consiglio*, wherein are usually 1500 Votes, besides other 500 Nobles who are in Offices else-where, either by Land or Sea; nor the *Pregadi* composed of 200

or thereabouts, or the *Collegio*, or the *Consiglio di Dieci*, nor what manner of busineses they treat of : Why should I tell who are the *Procuratori di San Marco*, *Sejteri*, *tre capi di Quaranta Savi di Mare*, *Savi di terra*, *Savi grandi*, and so many Officers; this with an exact description of that Republick, and of all her dependencies I could undertake, if I saw occasion, but 'tis a thing that deserves to be by it self, as well as the account of the forces, and riches of the Republick, and wherein they consist; I shall not speak of the City which is full of wonders with ancient and modern curiosities, onely I shall name the *Arsenal*, which is certainly the best in *Europe*, and the Treasure hath many rich and precious stones, however I will not omit to say, that in the City are two sorts of *Virtuosi*, one is called *Discordanti*, and the other *Gussoni*.

I must come to something of the political part of that Government, but before, I must name some of the Chief Families of that Republick. I believe the number of the Nobles exceeds that
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of 2500, though 40 or 50 Families with their friends and relations, whose leaders they are do govern the whole; the most considerable of these are *Contarini*, now *Doge*, *Sagredo*, *Corraro*, *Cappello*, *Mocenigo* *Morosini*, *Cornaro*, *Gradenigo*, *Grimani*, *Querini*, *Loredano*, *Marcello*, *Pesaro*, *Giustiniani*, *Foscari*, *Bembo*, *Delfini*, &c. Now I proceed, the *Venetians* take a great care to have their young men instructed in those things which concern their republick; in part to this effect they have found out such a variety of employments, to the end that applying themselves to these, they may in time be fitter to administer those of a higher nature, so that there is hardly any one without some employment suitable to his Genius and Capacity; they also have an usual way to speak familiarly of policy, so that after a long use, an earnest application, and an often hearing of those who understand things well, they must needs make improvement in it. The *Venetians* also most of any *Italians* do travel abroad, and hardly an Ambassador ever goes to any place, but he is
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attended by some of the young Nobles, who go to learn the politick part of the Government of the Country which the Ambassadour is sent to ; and that which is the chief, to the end that the Senate may be instructed of the present state of Affairs of any Court, we may observe that almost every where they have Ambassadours (not mattering what charges they come to) who all the time of their residence, by a constant Intelligence do acquaint the council with every particular thing that falls out in the Court they live at ; who not onely leave instructions to those who succeed them in the place, but who also when they come home, are obliged to make in *Pregadi*, a full relation of the state wherein stands the Court whence they come.

One thing above all, which I find extraordinary, is that secrecie so inviolably observed amongst them, that amongst so many heads there should be no tongue, nay, there have been those who were present at the Council, when violent resolutions were taken against some friend or relation of theirs ; they have

have conversed with them after that, and yet never discovered any thing. Publick Ministers of Princes who reside there, do confess it is more difficult to penetrate into those results made sometimes by above 1500 men, then into those which are made by three or four : 'Tis true, this is look't upon as a part of their wisdom, that publick affairs are communicated to all, for then when the resolutions they have taken, require secrecie, they think themselves obliged to observe it, though it were only upon this account that they are true and faithful to themselves. Thus their general aime is, or at least their Lawes tend to maintain peace, union, and liberty. We must not wonder therefore if this Republick is come to such a height, and maintains her self in it, with the Excellency of her Council, the observation of the Lawes, the gravity of manners and customs, and the common desire of maintaining liberty with a severe punishment of all innovations which could disturb the publick peace.

Laws ought not to be Despotick or Arbitrary, nor after the suggestions of sycophants, and byassed parasites, but in conformity to those of the great Law-giver (who though he hath an absolute and unlimitable right and power over all, yet he is oftentimes gratioously pleased to give reasons of what he doth) they ought to be grounded upon Justice, Reason, and Equity, and to tend to the Publick good, which should be the end of all civil and municipal laws, and not be turned into private Channels, to run to particular ends, which hapning, *let him look to it, who bears not the Sword without cause*, for all private ends ought to be subservient to the publick interest: to this effect, when first of all men contracted Societies, and united themselves in corporations, they knew well they could not subsist without order, which can never be observed without Laws, tending to protect the good in the enjoyment of that peace and quietness they desire, and to terrifie the evil with those punishments threatned them, in case they go about to disturb

it. And the truth is, that such Lawes being enacted, they look to future ages more then to that time wherein they are made, because those who made them being free agents, and entring willingly, and with their own record into such Societies as every one of them had a hand in the passing of the Lawes, if not in the framing, at least in the approving and confirming of the same; for that which is to be above all, as Laws are, is to be made by the consent of all; So 'tis to be supposed they would not break the Lawes which they made themselves, upon grounds of Reason and Justice; Hence it is, that as they have made use of the Legislative Power they had, and that they have bound themselves to the execution of them, which being once done, the bond cannot be loose or untied but by the general consent, and in such a case it may be done according to the maxime, that he who makes the Law can disanul it; (but it must be the whole Legislative power) for as grounds and reasons sometimes do alter, so may the Lawes accordingly, because as a Law doth

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not sute in all places, so neither at all times, neither may they be allowed, but as much as they conduce to the publick good, which as I said before is the end for the which they were made ; but if they turn to be destructive to these ends for the which they were made, they ought certainly to be abrogated and made void ; and this shews that every Law is not of the nature of those of the *Persians* and *Medians*, which might not be altered ; but because the life of the Law doth not so much consist in the Legislative Act, but specially in the Executive part, not only in wisdom, but also in power ; therefore they who made the Laws do appoint those who are to see them executed ; and because at first Law-givers could not foresee all cases and accidents which might fall out, there is a certain power reserved to interpret, to explain and to amplifie those Lawes, yet upon this condition that sense shall be given to the words of the Law which is most conducing to the end of the Law, that is, to the publick good : For those rules that are imposed by Conquerours

as such, do not deserve the name of Laws, but are only despotick orders and commands; the Conquerour after his Victory imposes what he pleaseth upon the Conquered; sometimes nothing but Martial and Arbitrary Laws, as it is this day practised in the *Turkish* Empire, for as he hath gotten it, so he must keep it either by force or fraud; this is by vertue of a right used between wild beasts, who will tear or spare those that are weaker then themselves.

The Laws of *Venice*, which are the occasion of this discourse, abhor these last, and are of the nature of the former, the happiness which they have enjoyed under them, do highly declare the wisdom of their Law-givers. I believe it were of no little use, if every Countrey were acquainted with the same; I altogether forbear speaking of them that are common and ordinary, one kind excepted, which is very beneficial, and might prove so to other Countries; being introduced therein, I mean the sumptuary Laws against excess in Clothes, Jewels, Equipage, &c. Which though vain and superficial things do
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consume and waste the State and Substance of many ; the servant is not to be known by his clothes from his Master ; and of these how many have we who are more sollicitous of getting Perriwigs, gaudy clothes, and the like, then careful to acquire knowledge, vertue and experience, not knowing that those things are borrowed, and not their own, which make no difference between an honest man and the vilest wretch in the world, however they are satisfi'd with a shew, and are like those Apples that grow about the Lake of *Sodom*, which have a fair shew, but have nothing within, blow upon them and they fly into dust and ashes. As there is a difference of quality in persons, so there should be some distinction in clothes, or the like ; the very Stars shew greater brightness some then others. Men should strive to go one beyond another, not in clothes but in vertue, and good quality. I, but I'll leave this discourse, not for want of matter, one who hath but common sense & reason could have much to say upon't, but because I avoid to be accounted too censorious and
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critical, and that sometimes every truth must not be spoken, or when it is *odium parit* : but to come to my subject, I say, 'tis not so in *Venice*, they mind more solid and substantial things then these, and they practise certain refined maxims, which I have observed.

First, their *Doges* may not ally themselves to any forreign Princes, to prevent receiving from abroad Councils tending to the destruction of liberty at home. Neither is it lawful for any of the *Nobles* to converse with any forreign Ministers, or any one that hath a relation to them, or to keep communication with them by way of letters, or any other direct or indirect way, to remove all occasions of being bribed, and so of betraying the State or their Councils; for this cause 12 or 13 years agoe was put to death one of the Family of *Carnaro*, it being found out that he had been several times at the lodging of the *Spanish* Ambassadour. Further, as they know that the greatness of the Republick comes from their power upon the Seas; so all the Nobles apply themselves specially to Sea Affairs: as for Land service they

they usually take strangers of known valour and experience out of *Germany*, *Italy*, and other places. To preserve union between the Nobles and the people, and that these may have where to apply themselves; the Nobles do not meddle with publick Schools, or ruling of Parrochial Churches, or the like; and more then this, the direction of the Chancery of the Republick, which is a high dignity that hath the ordering of all publick expeditions, and the Secretaries places are ever given to some of the people, to whom also they allow liberty of fishing, coursing, shooting, and the like, there being no propriety in things of this nature, and that they may yet the more get the love and affection of the people, they converse together in Walks, Play-houses, Gaming-places, and upon all occasions and meetings; so also they take Citizens Daughters to be their Wives: yet for all this the Nobles are so far from hindering, that rather they encourage the divisions which are in the City of *Venice* of one part against another, that is, between the *Castellani* and *Nicolotti*,

who use to meet specially in the month of *September*, upon the Bridge of *St. Barnabas*, which they flock to in great numbers, and the Nobles who happen to be there, do encourage every one of those of his side; there they Kick and Cuff one another, but have no Armes: this to some is an effect of animosity, to others a sport, to others a shew, and to all a diversion from other things. Upon this account, they suffer the insolencies of Scholars at *Padoa* with their *Cbi vâ li* at night to keep a division between them and the Citizens, who also are looked upon as a factious people.

Another maxime which they have, is to keep the scales even between warring Princes, specially in *Italy*, as they have done in the wars of *Milan*, to preserve the Publick Liberty; that one Prince doth not grow too potent by the loss of another; but a thing which they study most of all, is, to know the Genius, Customes, Strength, and to find out the Designs of all Princes and Republicks, by which diligence many a time they have found out and avoided great dangers impending over themselves

selves and others. But a very usefull maxime they have, and which is very wise, it is ever to hearken after peace, and fit themselves constantly for war: Afore they were involved in this last with the *Turk*, their policy was by all means to avoid a falling out with so dreadful an Enemy; but it seems at this time providence hath made use of the perfidiousness of those of *Candia*, and of the *Turks* ambition, to make this maxime null and void. But to withdraw from this Ocean, I will say, that out of policy they suffer the delays of doing Justice, and the tedious proceedings at Law, to keep people in exercise, and the Courts of Justice in credit: By the same reason they are so severe in punishing faults against the State upon all sorts of persons; and to avoid Innovations and Disorders, contrariwise, they be very remiss to those which proceed from humane frailty: So 'tis to punish more rigourously the faults of the Nobles, than those of the people, to the end that the former do not grow insolent, nor these last discontented. Further, they are carefull to maintain

their priviledges to Provinces and Cities, that they may continue in their Loyalty and affection. Lastly, 'tis a part of their Justice, as of their policy, not to punish the Crimes of the Fathers upon the Children, nor *é Converso*, the person onely which is guilty suffering.

I have one thing more to say before I leave it : Of all States in *Italy* this of *Venice* hangs loose from the Pope most of all, therefore they meddle not much in the Court of *Rome*, neither do they care to bestow Pensions upon Cardinals to have a favourable Election, and indeed 'tis not much material to them, seeing they extend their Jurisdiction upon all Regular and Ecclesiastical persons within their Dominions, notwithstanding the endeavours of several *Popes* to the contrary : And they have good Laws to bridle the power of *Popes* within their State, as I will instance only in two Cases ; the first is, though the Inquisition be amongst them, yet they have taken away its sting, there being constantly three of the wisest and more moderate Senators named to be present at their Consultations ; and it
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is further ordered, that nothing shall be resolved in it, except there be present one of these Senators, who qualifies things, reduces them to moderation, and in case of extremity telling, the Senate must be acquainted with such and such things. The Second Case is, the nomination which *Popes* make, of whom they think fit to some, Church-livings and benefices within their State, the *Pope* pretends he hath right so to do, which they deny; however because they will not openly cross him, they have found out an indirect way, which is this, there is an Order, that no man whosoever shall be put in possession of any Benefice by vertue of any Grant or Nomination from the *Pope*, except the same be first approved of by the Council, so that the Patent being brought to the Council, there it lyes till either the person who had it, or the *Pope* who granted it, be dead, which maxime now being known, none of their Subjects will be at the charges and trouble to Sue at *Rome* for any such thing.

The wisest amongst them laugh at the pretended Authority and Jurisdiction

tion which *Popes* arrogate to themselves within the limits of their Republick: he may (say they) play *Rex* at *Rome*, and have his Patriarchal Churches, namely, *St. Peter* representing the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *St. Paul* of *Alexandria*, *St. Mary* the greater, of *Antiochia*, *St. Laurance* without the walls of *Jerusalem*, and set over these four, *St. John* of *Lateran*, representing the *Pope*, who is over all; but say they, such liberty is not allowed him in the States of other Princes: From time to time there hath been Quarrels between *Popes* and this Republick; *Paul* the fifth's Excommunication is not yet forgotten there, nor the Principles of *padre Paolo*, and *padre Fulgentio* rooted out; though the Gospel be not taught there in publick, one may hear it sometimes in private. 'Tis true, of late the *Jesuits* were re-admitted there, but meer necessity of State obliged them to it, though their re-admission was carried on but by few *Balls* or Votes, the late *Pope's* Letter earnestly entreating them to do it, and saying, that if he could have gone in person to ask.

ask it, he would have done it, was not so efficacious as the promise of keeping 3000 men at his own charges in *Dalmatia*, for the service of the Republick; and upon occasion, the use of his Gallies, with some other advantages: however, they are still odious in that City to all sorts of people, and a small matter will send them out again: In a private Conversation between the late Pope and a *Venetian* Ambassadour then at *Rome*, upon the question moved by the Pope, *Where was their Title to the Sovereignty of the Gulf?* the other answered him smartly, *'Tis upon the back of Constantines donation*; this shews something in the bottom of the *Venetian* hearts not favourable to *Rome*, whence they have received so many grounds of displeasure; We have seen of late how much trouble a Nuncio of the Popes at *Venice*, was like to have raised between the Duke and Senate about the *Barigello*, who had seized certain of the Nuncio's Servants when they had done some insolencies, though he said he knew not they were his Servants, and though things had been com-

composed so, that the *Barigello* should not appear in the Church of *St. Mary*, where the Nuncio was to be till the last holy day of Christmas, yet upon that very day, against the agreement, within the Church the Nuncio prevailed with the Duke to order him to go out, whereat the whole Senate were highly incensed that the Duke would do such a thing without their advice : and now the late grudge about the turning of the Channel of the *Pò* another way, might produce something, were it not for the War of *Candia*, however there remains a cause of falling out hereafter.

Of the state of Genoa.

But 'tis time to speak of *Genoa*, formerly the dangerous Rival of *Venice* ; History shews us the several and great Revolutions of Government in this City ; it was by *Charles* the Great made an Earldom, & under one of their Earles won the Island *Corfica* from the *Saracens*, afterwards they became a Republick,

publick, they asked the Protection of *Charles* the sixth King of *France*, and having rejected this, they submitted to the *Duke of Milan*, and then would have withdrawn from his Obedience, but he being too hard for them, they were kept under till the dayes of *Andrea Doria*, who having pacified the intestine divisions, instead of making himself Prince of it, as some think he might have done, he got them the liberty wherein they stand at present: This Republick is no more now what it hath been, that *Genoa* which hath formerly been so potent at Sea, as to beat the *Venetians*, take one of their *Dukes* prisoners, as they did in 1258. run Victorious up and down, taking several Cities belonging to them, and block up *Venice* it self. Furthermore, in the year, 1337. they Conquered the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, took the King and Queen prisoners, but restored them upon certain conditions; the reason is, because though the Country be the same, yet that people hath exceedingly degenerated; in those days every one minded the publick good, and the honour of the Nation,

Nation, but now every one seeks his private ends and interests, let what will become of the publick, which is a meer folly, for when the publick goes to wrack, particular men cannot thrive very long; but if all particular men strive together to promote the publick, as they are members of that body, so they will find the benefit of it; when we have seen in the *Roman* Commonwealth men sacrifice States, Friends, Relations and Lives for the publick, when nothing was so dear to them, but they could part with it for the good and safety of the Republick, then were all things in a flourishing condition, but when they began to seek their own, and every one to set up for himself, all things began to totter? How can the parts be saved, if the whole perish? The Bees and the Ants natural instinct goes beyond some mens reason, they may be Hyeroglyphicks to us, and their example teach us to be publick spirited men; but it seems the *Genoese* are not so.

This Republick is in possession of what was formerly called *Liguria*, now
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'tis *Riviera di Genoa*, from the City of *Genoa* to *Porto di Luna*, is called, *la Riviera di Levante*, or of the East, and from *Genoa* to *Monaco* 'tis *Riviera di ponente* of the West, which makes 150 miles in length; though the breadth is hardly above 25 in any place: 'tis true, that upon the *ponente* is *Finale* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and three places to *Savoy*, but withal beyond *Monaco* it hath *St. Remy* and *Ventimiglia*; towards *Milan* they have *Gavi* with a strong Castle, and *Novi* not so good as the other; they have also the Island *Corfica*: Formerly Trade did much flourish in *Genoa*, but now *Legorn* hath spoiled it, as *Genoa* had spoiled that of *Savona*, they suffered extreamly by the late great plague that was there; so that to make themselves amends, and to keep up trade, they have thought fit to bring in the *Jewes*, by whose means they hope in time to bring trading back again from *Legorn*; but others are in expectation to hear how they will agree, for between a *Jew* and a *Genoese* (setting aside baptism) there's no difference; and if they do 'twil pass for a wonder.

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But not to be tedious upon this, I say, that although the City be very fair, and the Palaces stately, it is inhabited by men, then whom (few excepted) there cannot be worse, this is the opinion which all other *Italians* have of them : There goes a story, (which how true 'tis I will not dispute) that when the *Grand Duke* first of all made *Livorno* a free Port, he gave leave of *Trading* in't to all Nations, as *English*, *French*, and to all Merchants, even out of *Turkey*, *Anch' ai Genoesi*, having named several Nations, amongst whom there were Infidels ; those of *Genoa* are put the last, as being the worst of all. Indeed they are proud, revengeful in an extraordinary way, and enemies to strangers, though out of that City they go almost into all parts. I do not think there is a City in *Italy* where more mischief is done then in this, one hears of it almost every day : In the way of trade they are very skilful, yet so interessed, that there are those in it who could prefer one five shillings to twenty lives ; their temper is such, that they cannot agree with any sort of people, nay, not so much

much as amongst themselves; their unsettledness appears in this: from *Earles* they came to *Consuli* from these to *Po-iestà*, then to *Capitani*, to *Governatori*, *Luoghitenenti Rettori di populo*, *Abbati di populo*, *reformatori*, *proteclori*, *duchi Nobili*, and *duchi popolari*. Civil Divisions ever raged amongst them, for they were no sooner come under one sort of Government, but they wished for another. When *Francis* the first heard they would desire his Protection; *Let them go to Hell*, said he, *for I am not willing to meddle with such people*. The Italian Proverb of them is, *Mare senza pesci*, they have Seas without fish, *Montagne senza legno*, Mountains and no Woods; *Huomini senza fede*, Men without faith, and *Donne senza vergogna*, women without shame; yet some brave men are come out of it.

The Government is Aristocratical, with a *Doge*, only for two years, who with the 8 *Governatori*, is called the *Signoria*, then the little Council of 100 men, and the great of 400; they have also the *Sindici* Over-seers of the actions of Governours, as Censors were at Rome:

Rome : the *Doge* hath a Guard, which he of *Venice* hath not ; their Forces are much decayed from what they were, when they reduced *Venice* to an extremity ; still they continue to be good Sea-Souldiers, and keep eight Gallies, which do dispute the hand with those of *Maltba*, but they are not esteemed by Land. 'Tis a thing which will seem an extravagancy, yet 'tis a truth, that there hath been persons, and there are now Families in *Genoa*, more esteemed abroad then is the Republick it self, and some are as rich, if not richer, who keep Gallies of their own. The Republick hath not above 200000 Crowns a year, because part of the Dominion, and of the Revenue, doth belong to the company of *St. George*, which is, as it were another Republick within that; yet some make the yearly Income greater ; but confess that it doth not exceed the Charges. Silks are their Staple Commodity, which they work very well into Velvet, Plush, Satin, Taby, Taffitie, and the like silk-works, which they send into all the Northern parts of *Europe*. *St. George* is their Champion,

pion, and the Red Cross is their Coat of Armes. The City, as 'tis usual with Republicks, draws the best of the Land to it self, and hath destroyed the trading of other places, as *Savona* to advance its own; In it are a sort of *Virtuosi*, who call themselves *Addormentati*: the City is not strong.

The great secret of State of this Republick hath been to keep Her Self united to, and depend upon *Spain* since *Charles* the fifth; and *Philip* the 2d of *Spain* to keep them to her self, hath borrowed vast sums of monies, and assigned Lands in *Naples* and *Milan* for the payment; so that they must keep fair with the *Spaniard*, for fear of loosing the Principal; on the other side, as the King of *Spain* hath occasion of them, in relation to *Finale* and *Milan* not too loose them, he allows very great use for this money, so that they are even, and think to have overreached one another; most of the monies which are currant being *Spanish* Coine, it shews there hath been very great dealings between them. However now the *Spaniard* hath much lost
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the Great Authority he had first amongst them, for formerly they so far depended upon him, that they might not receive within their City the Ambassadour of any Prince but his own, who might come as he did often into the Consultations of the Senate; but now there is no such matter; they being exposed to so many alterations, there are no fixed nor constant maxims of policy among them. I think 'tis a Republick great by Name, but small in Strength, despised by her Superiors, hated of her Equals, and envied by her Inferiors, which doth subsist only because one Neighbour would not have another to get it; the interest of every one being to have it remain in a third hand; *Genoa* is very jealous of two of her Neighbours, *Savoy* and *Toscany*, of the former, who hath aimed and attempted to bring her under his Yoke; of the latter, by reason of his pretensions to *Sarzana*, which formerly belonged to *Florence*, and of both, because she is odious to both, and that upon the account of State, and of private Interest, they wish to see her brought low.

low. In it are many Noble and Rich Families, as *Doria*, of which are the Marquess of *Toreglia*, Prince of *Melfy*, of the branch of *André Doria*, and the Duke of *Tursi*; *Spinola* the Marquess, and *de Duke* of *Sestri*, Marquess *de los Balbases*, a *Spanish* Title, because a *Grandee* of *Spain*; other Families are *Fieschi*, *Grimaldi*, *Giustiniani*, *Pallavicini*, *Gibo*, *Carrieri*, *Imperiale*, and some others.

Of the state of Luca.

I See I do fall from an Ocean into Rivers, yet there is water enough for me to swim in, in some places, if not every where. You will not be troubled with hearing a long enumeration of Places and Dominions; yet 'tis to be admired of the places I am now to speak of, not how they can preserve themselves; this the jealousy between, and the interest of their Neighbours, joyned with watchfulness on their side, doth for them; but how formerly in times of conquest they could free their
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necks from the Yoke of their potent Neighbours. *Luca* is one of these places which hath sometimes been possessed by the *Goths*, the Emperours of *Constantinople*, the *Faseoli*, *Castrucci*, *Spinoli*, by the Family *Della Scala*, by the *Fiorentini*, *Pisani*, and by one *Carlo* of *Bohemia*, who having made a Bishop Governour of it, this Bishop received 25000 Crowns, and left them the liberty they are now in, their Dominion is extended upon few Mountains, not much inhabited, upon the top of which they have some strong holds, as *Monte Igoso*, *Castiglione*, *Minucciano*, with *Camagiore* and *Via Reggio* upon the Sea; but the best they have is the City well seated, people'd, and fortified with the territory belonging to it, which produces abundance of *Olives*, the best of *Italy*; and the industry of the Inhabitants about Silk-works makes the City flourish and grow rich, every one in it hath something to live upon; there are in it a matter of 10 Families esteemed worth at least 20000 Crowns a year; others to the number of 30 have some 15000, some 10000 a year, and above

60 have between 4 and 5000; the yearly In-come of the Common - wealth comes to not much above 100000 Crowns, with a treasure they have esteemed a Million, with certain Plate and Jewels, which upon occasion might bring in some monies.

They are Governed by a Council of 150 of the Chief Citizens, the City is divided into three parts, which they call *Tertieri*, out of every one of which the General Council doth Elect three men, in all, Nine, called Senators, who joyned with the *Gonfaloniero* their head are called *la Signoria*: The Senators do command by turns every three days, the *Gonfaloniero* hath a bare title, and nothing but the precedency above the rest, he is himself commanded by the Senators; he keeps his place but two months, then another is chosen, but within that time he may not go out of the Palace under pain of death: As for Warlike Affairs they are in a good condition upon the defensive, their listed Militia's are of 18000 men, besides the City contains 30000 Inhabitants, and is constantly Guarded by 300 good

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Souldiers

Souldiers, whereof 200 are born in the City, and have the keeping of the Gates, Walls, and other places, the other 100 are all strangers, born 50 miles at least from the City; amongst them they admit no *Florentine*; their Captain is a Stranger too, the Palace is committed to their Guard, and under pain of death they may not come nigh the Walls. The City keeps a constant provision of mouth, and ammunition of War for whole 7 years; their few strong Holds are well provided, and their Souldiers well paid, which is the onely way to keep them upon duty and Obedience; So that their care, and the plenty of their Territory about the City do supply the narrowness and littleness of it: In a word, if they come short of other Princes and Republicks, as to the extent of dominions they have great advantages above them another way.

First, they are not revengeful, as all the rest of *Italians* are, they easily forgive offences received, which doth argue the goodness of their nature, upon this account they are a proverb to other

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Italians, *Riceve gli affronti come un' lucchese*. 2dly, Their Women are very modest, and inclined to chastity, and their young men sober and temperate, some out of a Natural Inclination, and others by vertue of the good order kept amongst them: for 24 men, known to be of a good Life and Conversation are chosen out of the Council to be inspectors over the manners of *Youth*, specially of debaish persons, and every time they meet, which happens once a year, every one puts in his Bill with the names of those whom he hath found and observed to be unruly; and if the name of one be put in the little Box by the two thirds, that is by sixteen; herein is his sentence contained of 3 years banishment, he must go out of the City the next day after he hath had warning, and within 3 days after out of the State: So that by the observation of these good Orders, God fits them the better for conversion and reformation, after the reading of Scriptures, which they are much inclined to: hence it is, that we have seen so many families leave *Luca* and go to *Geneva* to enjoy the liberty

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berty of the Gospel, and to make an open profession of the truth : after these commendations 'twere superfluous to say, they have also amongst them two sorts of *Virtuosi*, the one called *Oscari*, and the other *Freddi*.

They might boast of the antiquity of their City, which was built by *Lucamon* King of *Toscany*, but they have a greater advantage which they glory in, that this is the first City of *Toscany*; which received the Christian Faith; though they be united amongst themselves, they are not sometimes without troubles at home, caused by the pride of their Clergy, which is so far protected by Popes, that *Urban* the 8th for their sake excommunicated the Republick. This people is Civil to strangers, and very courteous to those who come into the City, yet so watchful over them, that they have the Council *Della Vigilanza* to know what they come for, whence they come, and whether they go, not allowing them to wear swords in the streets without a special leave, yet they give them liberty to walk upon the Moat, by the Walls, and to view the
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the same; in this City, the tongue is spoken in the purity of it.

All their maxims of State are onely about the defensive part, and how to preserve themselves from their great neighbour the *Gran' Duke*, who would be glad to bring *Toscany* to her old limits that way, wherefore the Republick hath a strict correspondency with *Genoa*, which fears the same; however as I have observed, one Neighbour would cross another, if any thing was design'd against *Luca*: their care hath provided against open attempts, they being in a readiness to oppose them, all what they must do, is to take heed of surprisals.

The state of San Marino.

S*An Marino* is, I believe, the least Republick of *Europe*, when the Empire was transferred out of *Italy* into *Germany*; this City, with some others made her self a Republick, it lies on the West of the Dukedome of *Urbino*, under whose Dukes protection it remained,

ed, till this State fell to the Church, so that now it is shut up within the *Popes* Lands, and under their protection, yet some of them, specially the late *Alexander* the 7th, have done what they could by promises and fair means to make their Nephews Princes of it, but she would not part with her liberty, and though the *Pope* could easily force them to it, yet he dares not, it being certain that the *Venetians*, and the *Grand Duke* would oppose him in it, specially now when *Italian* Princes do dislike Novelties and Innovations: when this Republick hath written to *Venice*, she hath called her *Carissima Sorella*, very dear Sister, a weak one indeed; for having but the City, and two or three Villages besides, her strength and riches are but small, which must be supplied with their care of themselves, and watchfulness over their Neighbours.

Of the Petty Principalities.

THis is all as I think, that needs be said upon the subject of great Princes

Princes and Republicks of *Italy*. I must therefore now speak to the *Petty Princes*, or rather continue it, for the last Republick I have mentioned may have her place amongst these, rather then amongst the great ones : But I desire not to be mistaken, when I call some *petty Princes*, 'tis not to be understood, as if they depended from others, and were not Soveraignes, for every way they act as such : In their Lands there is no appeal from their sentence; they dispose of Life and Death; as well as the greatest Princes, they Coyn, or may coyn monies, Elect Officers, make Laws; and when there is occasion for it, they treat of Peace and War. I call them *Petty Princes*, because their States are but small in comparison of those whom I call great ones. 'Tis true, that there are very many who have the Name of *Princes*, who are not Soveraigns, but are Subjects to others; the number of these all *Italy* over is between 75 and 80; between 90 and 100 have the title of Dukes, and of Marquesses and Earls, there are above 500; but I speak onely of Soveraigns.

The Duke *Della Mirandola* is one of this sort; the City *La mirandola* is seated upon the confines of *Modena* towards the River *Po*; the family *Pico*, one of the most ancient and famous of *Italy*, have been Lords of it, and of *Concordia* since the year, 1110 till now; that line failed in the year, 1637, and therefore another was invested of it by the Emperour.

Of this sort are also the Princes of *Bozzolo*, and of *Sabionetta*, the Dukes of *Guaftalda*, and of *Novellara*, and the Marquess of *Castiglione*; all within the State of *Mantua*, as we said before, they have been such for these 100 years past, and are all of the family *Gonzaga*, he of *Sabionetta* excepted, which in the year 1540 was given with a Daughter, and Heir to General *Caraffa*, and now in the hands of a *Spaniard*.

The principality of *Monaco* is another, this is a strong City by Nature, seated upon the *Mediterranean*, between *Nizzadi*, *Provenza* and *Genoa*, this makes the Prince more considerable than any other of his sort; there is an indiffent harbour; the way up to it is
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very steep and difficult, and several Guards to speak with, before one can get to it. At the coming in there is a broad place with a prospect as pleasant as can be; within few miles from it, is another place, good enough, called, *Menton* depending from the said principality: there was in *Monaco* a *Spanish* Garrison, but the late Prince having partly by a stratagem, and partly with help from the *French* driven it out, he desired the *French* protection, and now there is in it a *French* Garrison, he is Duke de *Valentinois*, and Peer of *France*, whose coin is current in that Kingdom. This Princes family is *Grimaldi*, who derive their pedigree from *Grimald*, Son of *Pipin* King of *Austrasia*, and Brother to *Charles Martel*: this *Pipin* as they say, gave the Lordship to *Grimald*, in the year 713. but they were declared Princes in the year, 1411. Cardinal *Grimaldi* yet living, and brother to the late Duke, was in great part the occasion of the admitting in of the *French*, induced to it by the persecution which the *Barberini* suffered from the *Pope* at the secret instigations of

Spain, and by the protection which the *French* gave to that family, whose passionate creature this *Grimaldi* is, and also by the interest he hath gotten in *France*, to be Arch-bishop of *Aix*, and other good benefices he enjoys : He is of an active spirit, therefore he hath been much spoken of at *Rome* ; their family, or a branch of it is named amongst the greatest in *Genoa*, where some of the name are admitted to the highest charges: the present Prince of *Monaco* is not much passed 25, he hath married *Marshall Grammonts* Daughter, who prefers the pleasure of *Paris*, to the Sovereignty of *Monaco*.

Massa is in *Toscany*, seated part of it at the bottom of a great Mountain, part upon the Mountain, and highest of all is the Princes Castle, yet he is a building a Palace in the lower Town, and 'tis almost finished ; this is but a Post from *Sarzana* : The family *Malaspina* possessed it a long while, till by the marriage of *Ricarda Malaspina*, with *Lorenzo Cibo*, it came to this family, because she was the Heir of it : They were *Marqueesses* till the year, 1499. at which

which time *Innocent* the 8th of the same family being *Pope*, *Alberico Cibo*, was by the Emperour *Maximilian* made Prince of the Empire. *Bonifacius* the 9th was of the same family, which coming from *Grecia*, where they had possessed some Islands, Principalities, and other Territories, they seated in *Genoa*, there is a Cardinal of the name and family.

Massarana is in *Monferrat*, not far from *Vercelli*; this principality hath been in the hands of the family *Scala*, but in the 1568. 'twas bought from them by the *Ferreri*, who are at present in possession of it.

Upon 15 miles from *Genoa* is another Sovereignty, the Marquessate of *Torreglia*; it was given by *Charles* the 5th to *Andrea Doria*, who had left the service of *Francis* the first King of *France*, and done many eminent services to the Emperour; the same family doth also enjoy the principality of *Melfy* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but not in Sovereignty: This family *Doria* hath for 500 years been esteemed in *Genoa*, one of the most noble, if not the first of that

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Republick : The head of the family is young at present, there are two branches of it flourishing in *Genoa*, who hath each of them a stately palace, though one is more ancient and more sumptuous then the other.

Another principality is, *Piombino*, in the Island *Alba*, whereof part belongs to the *Grand Duke* as *Cosmopoli*, &c. Prince *Ludovisio* hath it now, it was bought for his Father by his Uncle *Gregory* the 15th of the same family; not long since the Princes Father died in *Sardegna*, where he was Vice-King for *Spain*, having laid before noble and stately foundations of a Palace in *Piazza Colonna* at *Rome*. This Prince underwent his Fathers displeasure unto the time of his death by reason of a strong passion he had for a mean person in the Island : At present there is Cardinal *Ludoviso* great *Penitentiare* of the Roman Church, which is one of the most eminent dignities of it : he is of *Bologna* of this family by the side of late Prince *Ludovisio's* Mother ; he is a man of no considerable parts.

Speak-

Speaking of this sort of Princes, I say nothing of Strength, Riches and policy, things so inconsiderable with them, that they are to be not so much as mentioned; all are under the protection of those within whose dominions their principalities stand, or of some other; the inconsiderableness of others, and the affection of their few Subjects are a security to them, and happy are they if satisfied with their condition; they are free of fears and of ambition; as they have little, so they have little to care and to answer for; they have the satisfaction to command, and not be commanded, and enjoy what sweetness there is, giving Law, without being exposed to the inconveniencies of it.

But now we must come to those principalities which are seated within the state of the Church, and first to those which belong to the family *Colonna*, now divided into two branches, one of which hath the Principality of *Carbognana*, whose eldest Son hath married his Sister, who is at present the head of the other branch, whereof however the late Cardinal *Colonna*, who died

died at *Finale*, attending on the Empress, and who was Protector of the Empire, was the chief, and with his frugality acquitted the debts, and cleared the state of his family: His Nephew *Don Lorenzo Colonna* (who hath married the *Mancini*, one of *Mazarins* Nieces) commonly called *Contestabile Colonna*, because he is High Constable of the Kingdome of *Naples*, is now the head of that branch, a man whose Inclination agrees better with the *French* than with the *Spanish* temper; yet he must keep fair with these by reason of his place, and of the Lands he hath in *Naples*: his free and frequent conversation with the Duke of *Cregni* Ambassador at *Rome*, gave the *Spaniards* much jealousy, some think he left *Rome* in part upon this account, but the aversion he had for the late *Popes* family by reason of some discontents he had received from them, was a sufficient ground to oblige him to leave *Rome* for two years time, as he did lately; he is a man who loves his pleasure, yet he hath so high and so Noble a spirit, that he could not stoop to the *Popes* Kinsmen,

men, as few others did; he hath a Brother called *Don Domenico Colonna*, and is Sovereign of *Pagliano* and Prince of *Marini*, the antiquity of his family is well known: their arms are a *Colonna*, or a Pillar, crowned because *Stefano Colonna* the Roman Senator did crown *Lewis of Bavaria* Emperour, in the year 1260. they say they come from *Columnius*, an ancient Roman.

The Rival, and ancient Enemy of this family hath been *Casa Urfini*, most Noble and very ancient, of which was that proud *Nicholas* the 3^d; this family hath been much decayed in her state, though of late 'twas somewhat restored by the means of some rich matches made with other families, which yet for want of Children may at last prove disadvantageous: Their Palace at *Rome* in *Monte Jordano* is very ancient: the eldest of the family is now Cardinal *Urfini* Protector of *Poland*, *Portugal*, and Com-protector of the *French Interest* at the Court of *Rome*; a man of no extraordinary parts, who not long since was obliged to take a journey to *Paris* to pacifie that Court, an-
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gry with him for not acting according to directions in the business of *Crequi* at *Rome*; and therefore had taken from him his pension of 5000 Crowns a year, and bestowed it upon Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, who being dead, *Ursini* posts away to *Paris*, and obtaines his desire; the head of this family is now the Duke of *Bracciano*, who is also *Conte di Petiglione*, two Sovereignties belonging to the family by an ancient gift of some *Popes* for services done to the Church; this Duke is the head of the ancient Nobility of *Rome*, as all other *Roman* Princes do, he stands much upon the points or punctillio's of ceremonies; hence it is, that lately he had a kind of a *Broglio*, or falling out with Cardinal *Sforza*, though some think it was not so much his fault as the Cardinals; he hath a younger Brother, called *Don Ielio Ursini* Prince of *Vicovaro*.

Another ancient family is that of *Cesarini* Duke of the name, and Prince of *Jansano*, and of *Ardea* he derives his pedigree from the *Cezars*, the family, as to a Male Issue, is like to be extinct:
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the late Duke, a man of 50000 crowns a year could afford his Cook 4 *Giulius*, two shillings for his dinner, and no more. He appeared so high for the *French* in the business of *Crequi*, out of an enmity he had for the *Popes* Relations, that he was obliged to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples* till the peace was made; he was one of those whom *Italians* call *Matti porta a casa*; he died lately, and left three or four Daughters in Monasteries, who had made no profession; his brother the Abbot *Cezarini* hath succeeded him, a man of a most loose and dissolute life; when I came from *Rome* he was upon marrying a Lady of *Milan*, without hopes on his side, by reason of his former deboistness of having any Children; yet with what he had before he is worth 60000 Crowns a year.

Rignano is a Principality belonging to the Duke *Muti*, of a very ancient family, for they derive themselves from *Mutius Scevola*, and a proof of it is the possession of *Campi Mutii*, wherein *Por-senna* was encamped, given by the Senate to *Mutius* and his posterity: The present

present Duke is not married, though he begins to be ancient, he hath much squandred his state with Gaming and Women, he hath a brother a Prelate, and another called Marquess *Muti*, a very ingenious person to my Knowledge, and of good parts, their palace as that of the forenamed family is in *Rome*.

I will make no further mention of the Soveraginty of *Farneze*, I said what was fit to be known of it speaking of the Duke of *Parma*, the Cardinal of that name is Prince of it. I will onely name the Marquess *di Monte* another Soveraign, and the Noble Family of *Castani* who have a stately palace at *Rome*. Of this Family is the Prince of *Caserta*, who for an unhappy business was obliged to fly from *Rome*, where he was look't upon as the best qualified of all other Princes, as to his personal worth.

Pope Clement the 8th a *Florentine*, in the year, 1595, bought the Marquessate of *Meldola*, and gave it to his Nephew *Ottavio Aldobrandini*, which is a Soveraignty, this family hath lived at *Rome* with

with great pomp, and much splendour, where they have three or four fair Palaces : now there being no Males, the great Heir of that family is the Princess of *Rossano* married first to the late Prince *Borghese* his Father that now is, and after to Prince *Panfilio*, Nephew to *Innocent* the 10th, of which she is now a widow ; this match with those two families is like in time to cause great clashings between them, about a clause in the contract of marriage with the former ; both are very potent for *Borghese* hath 300000 Crowns a year, and *Panfilio* little less : So we are now come to the late families raised at *Rome* by Popes.

Urbanus the 8th, subject born to the *Grand Duke*, by the means of his long Reign : had time enough to settle his family *Barberini* ; he had three Nephews, *Francesco*, whom he made Cardinal *Padrone*, that is Master, *Antonio* who for a while was the head of the family, but desired at last to be made a Cardinal, and *Don Thaddeo* : *Francesco* was made *Arciprete* of *St. Peters* Church. *Antonio* of *St. Mary* the greater,

greater, and high Chamberlain, and *Don Thaddeo Prefetto*, or General of the Church; this last being made the head of the family, they bought him the principality of *Palestrina*, formerly *Præneste*, which is now in the hands of his younger Son, the eldest having voluntarily resigned his Birth-right to his brother to be made a Cardinal; who at present is called Cardinal *Carlo Barberini*, he is the third of the family who hath that Dignity, which is very rare at the same time; and that which is the more to be admired is, that he was Elected by *Innocent* the 10th, who made it his task to persecute and destroy this family; but this was the work of *Donna Olympia*, who recollecting her self, and being affraid least the next Pope might prove a friend of the *Barbarines*, whose faction was then potent, and so retaliate the *Panfilio's* what they had done to the *Barbarines*, she thought it fit to reconcile both families, and this Cardinals Cap was the Seal of that Reconciliation; though this family was persecuted by *Innocent*, it is still flourishing; the Prince of *Palestrina* being already
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ready in possession of a vast Estate, and in expectation of a great addition to it, after the death of his Uncle *Francesco*, who is very rich, and at present the Dean of the Colledge of Cardinals, and titular Protectour of the *English* Interest at *Rome*; but how much more would he get if he were made a *Pope*, as he pretends to it in case of a *Sede Vacante*: this Princes Palace is in as good air, and as pleasant a seat as any in *Rome*, nigh to *Monte Cavallo*, which *Innocent* was upon taking from them, had not Cardinal *Grimaldi* prevented it by setting the Armes of *France* over the Gate.

But we must come to the late reigning family of the *Ghigi's*, that *Pope* at first was seemingly unwilling to do any thing for his relations, but at last he was as busie as any of his Predecessours had been, to raise them up; to this purpose he bought, as we said before the Principality *Farneze*, but afterwards he parted with it for the reasons before expressed. He perswaded *Father Oliva*, the General of the *Jesuites*, to enduce those of their Colledge who had

had Authority to sell him the best land belonging to it, to the sum of 100000 Crowns, under pretence of getting monies to pay their debts; and this was bought for *Don Augustino*, whereat the Jesuites were much grieved, when they saw their fault at a distance; then did he secretly tamper to get those of *San Marino* to receive a Prince over them; then did he proffer to Duke *Muti* for his principality of *Rignano* a Cardinals Cap, and a great summe of money; and after the death of Duke *Cezarini*; he offered the Cardinals Cap to his brother and heir with 200000 Crowns, if he would give one of his Nieces that are in the Cloister to *Don Sigismond* the youngest of his Nephews, and resign the principality, but he willing to marry nothing of this could take effect; however the head of his family is provided for, because the Noble Family of Prince *Savelli* being exceedingly decayed, want of monies obliged him, who now is to hearken after the proposals, made by the Popes Agents, to sell his principality of *la Rizza* and *Albano*, which he did not absolutely, reserving
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for many years to come for himself and his heirs (having already a fine young Son) to enter again into his right and possession, paying the summe received, which there is no great probability as yet to effect, except in case of some very great match, or of a *Popedom* in their family, which yet is not very probable, though at present there be a Cardinal of the family, who had some things left him by Cardinal *Mont' alto*: however the *Pope* is dead, and *Don Maria*, who at *Rome* ruled the roost, hath soon followed him, and a spend-thrift of no parts is left after them; the present *Pope* as yet hath gotten no principality for his Nephews, and he hath hardly had time to do it; what he will do hereafter time will reveal.

Thus far have we spoken in particular of the several Princes and Republicks of *Italy*; now I have some few things to observe in general, relating to the whole Nation: First, their Language, which is a corruption of the Latin, caused by the irruption of the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals* and *Lombards*, who settling in it for a while, and using
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their own Languages, the Countrey Tongue, which was the *Latin*, came to grow corrupt by degrees, and to be somewhat forgotten, and which is a mixture of the *French*, and some of the *Spanish*, because these Nations have been there with their Armies, and have ruled over parts of it for a long while; hence it is, that about *Piemont*, *Milan*, and *Genoa* they speak a corrupt *Italian*, which hath most of the *Provençal* in it, and except in part of the State of the *Pope*, in *Toscany* and at *Luca*, the right *Italian* is spoken no where else; I do not speak as to the pronounciation, which is very different, at *Genoa* 'tis pronounc'd much with the lips, in *Naples* with the teeth, in *Venice* with the palat; and the *Florentine* pronounciation is well enough known, however the Right *Italian* language, or *Toscan*, as they usually call it, is very Sententious, and full of Judicious and Significant proverbs; 'tis very sweet, and doth abound in fine and civil expressions, as for instance, if I desire to speak with one, the first words he will say to me will be these *Che commanda VS*, what are

are you pleased to command me; if they answer to a question, 'tis in these words, *Da servitore non lo so*, as I am your Servant I cannot tell; If I desire one to do any thing for me, he will say, *Sarà Servito*, I will do it; or if I buy any thing, and we cannot agree about the price, the parting words will be to me, *Mi spiace di non poter servirla*, I am sorry I cannot afford it, and the like; all which expressions in their Original have more of civility then in any other Language. I need not to penetrate into the sincerity of their discourses, which is not material to the purpose. I know the saying, *The French do not speak as they write, nor the Italians as they think*; I speak only as to the sweetness of the Language, whereupon one said, *If I was to speak to Senators or Ambassadors, I would do it in Spanish, if to Souldiers in High Dutch, to Courtiers in French, but to Ladies in Italian*. There is indeed a kind of excess in their civil expressions, for they use to say, *Schiavo di V. Sigria*, I am your Slave instead of your Servant; and the word *Vosignoria*, your Lordship is ordinary

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with them; so is the title of *Moltò magnifico* given to inferiour persons, as that of *Illustriſſimo* to those of a higher quality, yet 'tis given to many who are no great matter: a stranger with them is presently *Sigre Conte*, or *Barone*, or at least *Sigre Cavaliere*; they call men by the Christian name, as *Sigre Francesco*, *Gionanni*, *Francis*, *John*, when they speak to them, onely adding the word *Don*, to those of the highest quality; as *Don Domenico*, *Don Lelio*, yet they speak in the third person, when 'tis with one whom they will shew respect to, thus, *Dove vanno loro Sigrì*, but in *Naples* 'tis usual with men of the highest quality to do't in the 2d person of the singular, *thou*, as *Che fai*, *Sei tu stato*, which with other Nations is a sign either of great familiarity, or of much contempt. Neither must I omit here how fit and proper *Epithets* they give to things and places, as in the case of every one of their Chief Cities, so they call *Roma la santa*, the holy, according to their opinion, *Venice, la Ricca* the rich, *Padoa, la Dotta* the learned, *Ravenna, l' Anticha* the ancient, *Fiorenza la bella*,
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the fair, *Milan la Grande* the great, *Genoa la superba* the proud or stately, *Bologna la grassa* the fat, *Naples, la Gentile* the Gentile, *Capua la deliciofa*, the delicious, &c.

I will not inſiſt upon their cuſtomes, which is a ſubjeſt of which many have treated, however by the by let me ſay in few words, that in their diviſion of the artificial day, they differ from the general praſtiſe of *Europe*, excepting only (as far as I could obſerve) *Bohemia*, inſtead of our reckoning from 12 to 12 hours, they reckon from 24 till 24 and their firſt hour begins at night an hour after Sun ſetting, wherein they imitate the Jews, who after the method of the Creation reckoned the night afore the day, for ſaith Scripture, *The Evening and the Morning was the firſt day, the ſecond day, &c.* Another cuſtome of *Italians* wherein they differ from us, is in the ſign we uſe to make with the hand to thoſe whom we call, for here we do it with our fingers upwards, but there it would be taken for an affront, my hand muſt be downwards, and move gently when I make a ſign with it; here

we take that to be the upper hand wch is next to the wall, but there they judge of it by the hand it self, the right hand though next to the Chancel is with them the upper hand; and in the case of riding in a Coach, a place in the Boot in their way, is before one in riding backwards, but in *Venice* the left hand in the *Gondola* is the upper hand; but when 3 walk together, the middle is the most honourable, hence it is, that when they walk upon a place to and fro, they are careful to let every one take his turn in the middle: A strange way they have to retort affronts upon others, which is, to break a bottle of Ink upon one, specially women, or else over the door of the house, so that it remains spotted with it, 'tis the greatest note of infamy that can be laid upon any one. *Italians*, both men and women have a general and a natural inclination to play upon the Gittar; and I admired sometimes to hear those play who never learned at all; the very inferiour sort of people without any direction, onely with a constant application do get it, and they are so taken with it, that as they

they travel upon the high way from town to town they play upon it, and at the same time to play, to sing and to dance is usual with them.

I cannot well omit to speak some few words about their temper and manners; but before I do't, some passage I observed somewhere there (for in things of this nature I name no places nor persons) which gave occasion to my following reflection, how fit it is for Princes to be careful what manner of men they bring about their persons in private. When a Prince comes into a place of retirement he puts off that Majesty and Gravity which he hath when he appears abroad; they are but men, and so they must allow themselves some liberty in their Chambers when they are withdrawn from the croud of men and business. Now if when they are thus retired to be private, every action of theirs, and every word they speak be *vented* abroad by those who are present, in this the condition of Princes of all men in the world were the most miserable, *Quisque suos patitur navos*, every one hath his failings, and the frailties of

humane nature, so that wisdom consists in the concealing of it, and not in the not having of it, besides that *Nemo sapit omnibus horis* : So that if standers by who see things spread them abroad, then additions and glosses are made upon't, and as the actions and words of Princes are exactly taken notice of, so every one passes his judgement upon them. How necessary is it then for Princes to have no rash or giddy, but wise, sober and discreet men to wait on them in their retirements, who without being told, may know what's fit to be spoken, and what to be concealed, those things which may give a good opinion of a Prince must be published, but not the contrary, or else I say, that those who have the honour to be admitted into the presence of Princes, so as to be private to their retirement from the croud of affairs, to ease, chear up, and refresh their spirits, if they allow their tongue as much liberty as they do to their ears and eyes; they are very unfaithful or very imprudent, and so not fit to be in such places. Certainly *Domitian* himself never told,
that

that when he was in his Cloſet, he was buſie about killing of flies; the firſt report of it came undoubtedly from ſome other hands, which brought a great deal of diſparagement upon him; I know in this he took his pleaſure as *Nero*, and other Emperours took it, in the company of *Buſſaons*, and things of that nature; but they forgot that their honour was to have been to them dearer then their pleaſure. I do not deny however, but that one friend may ſometimes whiſper in the ear of another private things of this nature, and impart in ſecret ſome ſuch things to them as they have ſeen, for this manner of reſpoſing confidence in the diſcreetneſs of another is a ſtriſt bond of friendſhip. I diſapprove here thoſe who ſpeak at random, before thoſe whom they ſcarce never ſaw, whom they do not know well, or when they ſpeak it unſeaſonably, for there is a time for all things, and to know it is not the leaſt part of wiſdom.

But upon the ſubjeſt of the nature of *Italians*, I muſt obſerve that the people of thoſe parts which are on this ſide

the *Appennini* Mountains, as *Piemont*, *Monferrat*, all *Lombardy*, part of the state of *Venice*, and *la Romagna*, have somethings of the *French* humour, but on the other side, as the *Genoeses*, *Toscans*, *Romans* and *Napolitans*, they have much of the *Spanish* temper; however they are all in General, dexterous, subtil and prudent, those who are good know all the tricks that are put upon men; there is no leading of them by the nose, neither will they be easily cheated, but they who are bad apply their whole wit to hide it; so that one is easily mistaken in them, and 'tis very difficult to know them well, but after a long dealing and conversing with them.

Italy the Mother of Arts and Sciences I look upon as a nurse, who hath vertue in one breast, and vice in another, and as ever one extream joynes with another, so best and worst are to be learned there; this is according to the constitution of the people, who when they be good they are very good, when bad extraordinarily bad, *Corruptio optimi est pessima*; however a judicious man will benefit himself by the good
which

which there he will meet withall, but also like an experienc'd Artist he will extract wholesome cordials out of the worst of poisons; though the corruption of humane nature is so strong, that it inclines and draws us to evil, rather then to good, but the beams of grace, the light of nature, and the testimony of ones conscience may teach us the right way.

However, to speak first of the best, I say the conversation of *Italians* is not easie to be had, but when it is, 'twill be found sweet, civil and obliging, very circumspect not to give offences to any one in the company, or any one else that hath a relation to it, ever respectfull one to another; the greatest familiarity doth not make them recede from a courteous carriage, so that such persons have one of the best qualifications to make friends, for friendship without respect is not to be cared for: Furthermore a thing very commendable in point of conversation is, that though they be many in a company, they never speak together, which is the Vice of some other Nations, and fit only for

Children ; let a man make a discourse never so long, they will hear him quietly, and not interrupt him, as they will not be interrupted when it is their turn to speak ; 'tis true, that most of them speak rationally and judiciously ; and as they are a people who love exceedingly their liberty, for which cause their Princes, to keep them under, have built so many strong Holds and Castles ; so the ordinary subject of their discourses are affairs of state, which by a constant custome of speaking and hearing of, they have brought themselves to an ordinary knowledge in, as the example of that poor Fisherman at *Naples*, *Mas' Anello* so cunningly blowing up the fire of that Insurrection, which made so much noise in the world, doth demonstrate ; upon this account, Books treating of any State revolutions are so strictly forbidden them, knowing that this is to add fewel to the fire ; and in some places, where most of all Princes are jealous of their Authority, as in *Naples*, discourses of this nature, if known, are severely punished.

But there are two extremities upon
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this subject, some Princes of the *East* and *Northeast* parts of the world, namely the *Tartars* and *Muscovites* keep their people in a beastly ignorance, and have exiled all manner of Arts and Sciences out of their Dominions, and this under pretense, that hereby having not so much the use of reason, they are not apt to cavil at, or to disobey the orders of their Superious, as do other Nations who have more knowledge and understanding; but this hath no more consequence, then if one should say; meat and drink are not to be used, because there are gluttons and drunkards; because there are sometimes knowing and judicious subjects, who are disobedient, 'tis not to be concluded, that knowledge and judiciousness are the cause of disobedience, so far from it, that these letting a man know of his duty, do fence against any thing that goes about to withdraw him from it: Pride, Ambition, Discontents, Covetousness, Cruelty and the like, are the causes of Risings against Lawful Authority, and not Wisdom and Understanding, so far from it, that where they are not, the
use

use of reason is suspended, and men act onely out of a natural impetuosity, and out of a sensitive principle, wherein they differ nothing from beasts; so that the same ignorance and violent motion which leads them to obedience, upon the less shadow and fancy will spur them to disobedience; and one alone, if not quickly taken off, is enough to turn away whole thousands, for who can more easily be mislead, then he who receives falsehoods for truth, and who hath not a spirit to discern good from evil; these are Mules, which will as soon kick their Master as a Stranger; or like those Elephants, who having once felt the smart of a wound, in spite of their Rider turned from upon the Enemy's, and fell foul upon their own Army: I am further of the mind, that ignorance is the great prop of Rebellion; for as there is nothing so natural to men, as the desire of liberty, and that there is nothing in men to oppose the motions and desires of it; and seeing they obey only out of fear of punishment, upon all occasions, they will embrace any means, let them be never so

so wrong, to attain to it : Like Lyons and Tygers used to be chained up, when they break loose they tear and devour any thing that lies in their way, and like violent torrents they over-flow all; from the fury of such people, *Libera nos Domine.* As to those barbarous Countries where they have such Erronious principles, contrary not only to reason, but also to common sense, they bear the punishment of this fault, for all their subjects are generally incapable to do them service, having neither parts nor abilities to effect it; and in the managing of their wars, which is the chief thing they mind, they are obliged, specially the *Muscovite*, to get Officers of other Nations to carry it on, their own Subjects, few excepted, wanting knowledge and experience in it. Arts and Sciences, not only make a Kingdom flourishing, but also do fit Subjects to obey and to command; over-rules with the use of reason, that brutish impetuosity which is in some men, not only teaching them their duty, but also strengthening it in them with reasons and examples.

But

But 'tis not enough to disapprove this singular error, for there is another extremum to be condemned; 'tis the too great curiosity of private men. I know particular persons are concern'd in publick transactions, as being members of that politick body, which can never fare well or suffer, but they must be sensible of it; yet some more and some less, according as they are Eminent in their places, and called to it by the favour of their Prince, for every one must know his station, and act within that sphere, *Ne ultra crepidam*, for if every one were his own carver, and had that share which he wishes in the Government, then all would command, and there would be none to obey; so that all would degenerate into a confusion and Anarchy. Men ought to refer themselves to their Rulers, for the direction and steering of publick Affairs, knowing that God who hath called them to it, hath not been wanting to endue them with necessary abilities: Therefore those subjects are to be blamed, who would penetrate into the secrets of Princes, and dive into their Councils,
and

and consequently cavil at their actions, and censure their proceedings : they see indeed the effects, but know not the causes, which if they knew they would be satisfied and approve of them, if they were capable to understand them, but oftentimes they will judge of an undertaking by the event, which is a great mistake ; as we could give examples of designs, wch were as rationally grounded as could be, carried on with all imaginable dexterity and secrecie, yet miscarried upon the point of execution; on the other side, rash attempts managed with the greatest imprudence in the world have proved successfull : what then ? were the former to be blamed, or the latter commended ? No, we must look upon men to be no more then Instruments, if according to the reason they have, they make use of means afforded them, 'tis all that may justly be required from them, for success of things depends upon the over-ruling hand of providence, which disposes of all things as it seems good unto her : It is true, 'tis said a successful man was never a fool, nor an unfortunate a wise man ; but
this

this is a vulgar error, as well as this other, the strongest is never the traitor: Out of this I deduce, that for the most part 'tis beyond the sphere and capacity of subjects, specially those of an inferior Orb, to judge aright of the actions of Princes; they have certain motions whereby they act, which are invisible to particular men, they are acted by an intelligence which is hidden from the eyes of the commonalty; and as they stand nearer to God, so they receive more of his influences: But some sort of people do proceed to an excess of unreasonableness, in that as much as in them lies, they will not give Princes that liberty which they allow themselves, as if they were Servants more than Masters of the State; 'tis true, certain faults of Princes are more unexcusable than those of private men, because by these last, none but themselves or few else do suffer, but by the former, whole Nations are sometimes the worse, and share not only in the disgrace before men, but also in the punishment from God; however a distinction is to be made; some failings are natural to them as men, and others

others as they are Princes, and neither are to be examined by subjects, for to their *great Master* they must fall or stand.

Now I must return to my principal subject, to some other vertues practised by *Italians*, which are sobriety and frugality; I shall joyn them together, for they have a great dependency one upon another, only the latter is of a larger extent: Sobriety is a thing so much in request amongst them, that with them 'tis accounted to be, as indeed it is, a great shame to practise any thing contrary to it, specially in point of drinking; so that to call one there *Imbriaco*, a drunkard, 'tis to give him one of the greatest affronts he can receive; and 'tis a certain truth, that they are very temperate in their meat and drink, and whole diet, as I will give some particulars by and by upon the point of their frugality; in the mean while some make a doubt, whether their Sobriety be an effect of their temper, or of the Climate: I confess in hot Countries, such as this is, men have no such stomach to their meat, as they have in those which are colder, and though they had, the stomach could
not

not have the facility to digest much of their aliments, which are very nourishing, and of a hard concoction; however this argues nothing at all against *Italians* sobriety in matter of drink, for the hotter the Climate is, the more apt men are to drink, and no Nation hath more enticements to it then they, if by nature they were inclined to it, they having as rare and excellent Wines as *Europe* can afford; but since they forbear, I will not deprive them of that praise which they deserve for this vertue; as for eating they have as delicious meats as can be wished for, which are both pleasant to the palate, and light to the stomach, in the use of which they forbear all excesses.

This will better appear by their frugality, which yet some who are used to misname every thing, and give the worst construction to all, do call covetousness, when 'tis known that in certain things no Nation is more Noble and more splendid then they are; this frugality is extended to their clothes and diet, they go very plain, men of vast Estates, yea, their very Princes, except upon extraordinary

dinary occasions, very seldom exceed 10 pounds in a Sute of Clothes. I know Princes and Cardinals, who when they have received a present of sweet Meats, Fowles and the like, send it to their Confectioners, Poulterers, &c. who buy it of them; this here would be look't upon as the effect of a miserable and covetous nature, but there 'tis their way; from the highest to the lowest they are very private in their diet, there is no coming to them at such hours, and the meanest of the people would not be interrupted by the best man in the Land: the most part of Noblemens Servants do not diet in their houses, but are allowed bord wages instead of it.

But *Italians* delight in rich and fine Coaches drawn by stately horses, and to be attended by a number of *Staffieri*, or men in Liveries; Coaches of 800 or 1000 pounds are not rare there, and there is never a King in *Europe* that hath Coaches so rich as have the *Grand Duke*, and the *Duke of Parma*, the former's Coat of Armes, which are the six Balls, are set over the head in his *Coach*, for every Ball a precious Stone, valued at

at 10000*l* *Sterl.* and if we will believe them, the whole coach comes to 40000*l*. Further, they delight in buildings, and stately Palaces built up after the Symmetry, and exact rules of Architecture; So in Gardens and water-houses, Ornaments and Furnitures of Houses, as Statues and Pictures; hence it is that they are so passionately in love with Pictures, that they will give any thing for one when they like it, 4 or 500*l* for one Picture is no extraordinary rate amongst them; there hath been some Princes who have offered in Silver the weight of some Statues, and could not have them; in a word, *Italians* delight in those things which make a skew. 'Tis not to be admired that in *Italy* they are such lovers of Pictures, for that Art is there brought to the height of its perfection, and that Country is absolutely the best, if not the only School of it, where within this age or thereabouts, have flourished those Eminent Picture-drawers who have filled *Europe* with their Names, but most of their Works are safely and dearly kept there, whether they be in *Fresco* or in *Oleo*: what

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excellent Artists have been *Bassano, Ticiano, Michel Angelo, Rafaele di Urbino, Tintoretto, all the Caracci, Coregio, Paolo Veronese, Dominichino, Lan Franco Guarcini, Guido Reny*, and a great number of others, who excelled, almost every one in something; some in invention, others in the mixture of Colours, in the proportions, exactness of features, and after the natural; and in designing, drawing and touching or perfecting: in great or short, in *Mignatura* with the Pen or Pencil, or otherwise, Fights, Land-skips, Flowers, Perspectives, Sea-prospects, great and small Figures, and in other wayes and things depending upon that curious profession; in this for certain *Italy* goes beyond all the World.

Now we will come to what is worst in them, but we must premise this, that their youth is very fiery, which is the cause of Murthers and other mischiefs committed in those parts; however this heat doth not last usually after they are passed 25 years of age, or a little more: as for the meanest sort of people, they are generally civil in their carriage, if
one

one be so to them, but if a stranger speaks a hard word to them, they take fire and grow very insolent, yet so, that if they see themselves the weaker, and not in a place convenient for them, they hold their peace and forbear till they have opportunity of time and place; but let's come to their Vices.

As the natural propension of men is to evil more then to good, so many who travel into *Italy* do quickly take notice of their Vices, but do not mind their Vertues; so when they come from thence, all that they can say for it is, they are given to such and such evil courses, and are so and so qualified; but Vertue and Vice with Nations are as Corn and Tares in the field, and like Wheat and Chaff in the Barn, one must have skill to pick out the right, and leave the wrong: Some Vices as the Apostle speaks, are not so much as to be named, and as he saith in another place, *It is even a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret*; a certain modesty in speaking is required, which if a man doth not observe, I judge him to be disposed to evil doing; some

some Vices there are so odious in themselves, that they defile the tongue of the speaker, the ear of the hearer, the pen of the writer, and the eye of the reader, yea, the very thoughts; this consideration obliges me to pass by some thing to come to others.

Some will tell me, 'twere well also to omit speaking of jealousy, which both Sexes there are subject unto; though that of the men, as being the strongest, doth produce the saddest effects; I confess 'tis a very unpleasant subject, which I leave after few words speaking; this extravagant passion which is caused by love, but destroys it, and which is as *Solomon* saith, *The rage of a Man*, doth so blind, possess and alter men in *Italy*, that from Husbands it turns them into Goalers and Tyrants, and murderers of their wives, who become thereby their prisoners and slaves; upon this consideration *Ariosto* one of their most eminent Poets, hath the expressions here inserted:

Che dolee più, che più giocondo stato

Saria di quel d'un amoroso cuore?

Che viver' più felice, e più beato

Cheritiouarsi in servitu d'amore.

Se

*Se non fosse l'huomo sempre stimolato
 Da quel sospetto rio, da quel timore,
 Da quel furor, da quella frenesia,
 Da quella rabbia detta gelosia.*

Another Vice of *Italians* which I am more free to speak of, is that desire of revenge, which is so strongly seated in them; they are certainly of a most revengeful nature, and therefore 'tis very dangerous to offend them, they prophanely say, that vengeance is so sweet a thing, and so great a good, that upon that account God doth reserve it to himself as a thing wherein he will not have men to share with him; and as *Italians* to attain it, use all possible means, let them be lawful or unlawful, and as it carries them to the utmost extremities; so I am of opinion, that there is a cruelty in that nature which is so bent to the execution of it; out of this principle, I mean of cruelty, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* used to say, upon the occasion of a great Princess, who in his days was brought upon the Scaffold, *Che Gusto*, said he, *di tagliar teste coronate*, what a pleasure is it to cut off crowned heads! Northerly people do blame the wayes which they use to be avenged, as poysoning,

bing, and the like; but they and the *Spaniards* too laugh at us, and call *Germans*, *French* and other Nations, fools, who use to challenge and fight duels one with another for so doing; for say they, if one hath been offended, is he not a fool to take the way perhaps of receiving a greater offence instead of a satisfaction, and to venture his life upon such an account, but men ought to take their advantage: the truth is, the *Italian* is a dangerous person upon this account, for he appears cold in his anger, constantly thinking upon the means how to be avenged, he keeps the iniquity in the bottom of his heart, and the worst is, that he dissembles and conceals his desire of revenge, which aims at no less then the death of the offender, by the means of poisons, dagger, or any other way, leaving nothing unattempted to bring his design to pass.

Neither will they hearken sincerely after a reconciliation; for their proverb, saith, *Amicitie reconciliate, eminestre riscaldate non furono mai grate*, there was never any pleasure in reconciled friendships, nor in warmed pottage; and this is so deeply fixed in their hearts, that

many die obstinate in that resolution: Upon this subject there is a very notable passage of an *Italian Gentleman*, who being strongly exhorted by a *Franciscan Fryar*, to be reconciled to his Enemy, answered him in these words, *You exhort me to forgive as a Christian, and I cannot do't being a Gentleman; I was born a Gentleman before I was a Christian, for I am the one by nature, and the other by vertue of my baptism; therefore I will first be avenged as a Gentleman; before I forgive as a Christian.*

From what hath been said, we make some few general observations, namely, that the *Italian Nation* is not only fallen from that great power it had formerly; but also it hath much degenerated from that heroick vertue and martial spirit it had before; for a thousand eminent men it produc'd formerly, there is hardly one now; and that generosity of the *Lion* which they had heretofore is turned into the cunning of the *Fox*; so their businesses are managed with dexterity, (not to speak worst,) more then with strength: hence it may be concluded, that vertues, though but moral ones make glorious States, Kingdomes and
Re-

Republicks, and Vices are the cause of their decay, as it hath happened to the *Roman Empire*; Vertue gets honour, strength & riches; and as the best things are apt to be corrupted in their use, so these produce pride, ambition, idleness, covetousness, and other vices, which causes destruction one time or other.

It appears also from hence, how unfortunate the condition of those petty Princes are, who depend upon others, for their preservation, their protectors do often turn to be their oppressors, and yet they dare not complain of it; how watchful must those be who have ambitious, and much more potent Neighbours, then themselves, 'tis a sad case to think what straights they are sometimes brought too, to provide for their safety, and how many real evils they are exposed unto to maintain that vain shadow of liberty which they are so taken with, and that dream of a Sovereign Authority, of which they be so fond of; they waste and consume themselves in charges for their preservation, and are besides obliged to observe the humours of friends and foes; and what is this to the odium and disaffectedness of their Sub-

jects which they often bring upon themselves, who must bear the burthens, and be at the charges of upholding this Authority which makes also the condition unhappy of the people who lives under such Princes as have no power to protect them; and as the right use of these two Princely vertues, valour and prudence, do consist in these two things, to free his States from forreign, and to avoid civil wars; certainly if they can prevent neither but with much difficulty, by reason of weakness and discontents, they must needs be constantly offended with dangers and fears, which makes to them their life uncomfortable, and let things fall out how they will, if ever they be engaged in any troubles at home or abroad, what success and advantage can they get either from those who are much more potent then they, or from those in whom their strength ought to lie; by this last they act against their own interest, and do as it were tear themselves in pieces, for 'tis not enough for a war to be just, 'tis necessary it should also be beneficial and advantagious.

I must make one observation more,
that

that the number of petty Princes (such are all *Italian* ones, in comparison of potent Kings and Kingdomes, as *England*, *France* and *Spain*) doth much contribute to their common safety and preservation, for every Prince watches constantly the design of another, not only upon his own States, but upon that also of his Neighbour, for he is much concerned that the dominions of one of his neighbours should not fall into the hands of another, who would thereby grow too potent for him, and one time or other bring him upon the Stage; and this is a necessary maxime, not only to remove the will and inclination he hath to do him hurt, but also to hinder and prevent his being able to do it; So then, that mutual jealousy which they have one of another, keeps the scales even between them; and if a single one would attempt something upon him who is weaker, then the others would not fail directly or indirectly to assist the weakest; and if the Prince should happen to be stronger then all the other together, rather then be made a prey to such a one, they would call in a forreign power to ballance him, as it hath been of late.

-91 1. 3. done.

done in *Germany*, for Princes there being grown very jealous, and not without cause, much affraid of the Emperours power, they brought in the *French* and the *Swedes*, who having gotten an interest in the Empire, the one in *Alsatia*, the others in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*, and are now concern'd to curb the Imperial Authority if it would over-flow the banks of its just and limited power: this is also the case of *Italy*, where the *French* and the *Spaniard* have each some interest, though the former not comparable to the latter, as to possession of Lands, but when he pleases he can pour thousands of his Subjects into it, having in his hand a door into it, then the differences between the houses of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, and of *Parma* and *Modena* with the *Pope*, will be now and then an occasion for the *French* to meddle in *Italy*. And although the Princes of *Italy* care neither for *French* nor *Spaniard*, yet they care for their interest, which is ever to make use of one to oppose the designs of the other.

So that publick persons, as well as private men, may learn from *Italians*, the rules and practise of Oeconomy and

Policy; the greatest of Princes, as the meanest of Subjects, need to be frugal and saving, for let their incomes be never so great, the charges of the State, and their own, are sometimes greater: often there happens extraordinary, and undispensible occasions and necessities to be supplied; or else the State will run into a palpable danger. Men from the highest to the lowest, have nothing but what they save and spare, and let them receive never so much, they will not want unnecessary occasions of laying out more then that comes to. Monies are the sinews, not only of war, but really there cannot be any politick motion without it, wherefore we use to see that of Princes, he is the strongest who is the richest, if he knows how to make use of that advantage: by these means he will draw the greatest and the best Armies into the field, and will keep them upon duty and in obedience, and so in a fit posture for service; the best experienced Officers, and the stoutest and most undaunted Souldiers, will ever follow an exact and a good pay; he will not only secure his own places, but also work within the Garisons of his Neighbours,

and even have influences upon their very Councils: The rich Prince will tire out and consume him who is poor; how much then are they concerned, when present occasions of State allow it, to lay up in their Coffers that which may serve for the future necessities of it; that Prince who is in this condition, is feared, respected, and admired at home and abroad; if he hath learned well how to improve this advantage.

As to that part of a Princes policy, which consists in this, *Not to discover the bottom of his heart, nor the utmost of his Power*; we have it from *Italians* (not the former) for when the inclinations of a Prince come to be found out, and his work can be known, then all his neighbour Princes will work upon him that way; they will give him monies if he be covetous, praises and flatteries if he be proud and vain; they will go about to strike fear into him if he be timorous, or in a contrary way to please him in that passion, which they know to be predominant in him; and hereby many a time he will be drawn to act or comply in those things which are contrary to his honour and interest: At home he is also exposed

exposed to the *attempts* of *Parasites* and *Flatterers*, who for their own ends ever study to please him in that which they know him to be most of all prone and given to, by which compliance with him he becomes a prey unto them: the latter part of this policy, for a *Prince* not to discover the utmost of his power, is to be learned from *Italians*, as well as the former. Some *Princes* and *States* do subsist and are upheld by credit and reputation more then by a real strength; 'tis more by the opinion which others have of them, then by any true cause in themselves, and 'tis well for one never to do so much, but to give others to think that he can do more, for when 'tis once found out how far one may go, others will be more apt to cross him, and will take courses futable to their designs against him; so that in this a *Prince* lies open to the attempts of others.

Another thing necessary for publick and private persons to be learned from *Italians*, as much as from any other Nation, is, Not to discover the utmost reach of ones capacity, and of that faculty of the soul, called understanding or intellect: this learned men do so observe, that

in the solution of questions, though sometimes they have said as much as they are able, yet they will tell one, that much more might be said to that purpose, and the like, for above all things they would avoid to be suspected of ignorance by others, seeing they make an open profession of learning. So 'tis a matter of high concernment to Princes to be accounted to be men of parts, judicious and understanding, which are qualifications necessary to those who rule Kingdomes and Nations, therefore they are so careful not to give the least grounds to make people suspect they want abilities to govern, seeing nothing can be so injurious and prejudicial to them, as to be accounted soft and shallow heads. *Solomon* the wisest of Kings pronounces a woe to that land whose Princes are children, not so much in years as in wisdom and understanding, as was his Son *Rehoboam*, who was said to be young at 40 years of age, for want of knowledge and experience; a wise Prince therefore will chuse not to speak at all, rather then not to speak to the purpose upon a subject: hence it is also that he sits in Council, not onely to hear the several advices given him there,
but

but also to judge of them himself, and having digested it in his mind, to give them a form, chuse the best, and be himself the Author of his resolutions, in consequence of Councils given him, which thus he makes to be his own. It is then a great part of wisdom to conceal his ignorance, and incapacity of any things, specially of those which ought to be known, and to give as good opinion as one can of his abilities, and rather forbear speaking of a thing then not to do it well, for instead of praises which every one is desirous of, one brings himself into slight and contempt, for I think that one of the greatest discommendations of a man is this, he was so put to it, that he knew not what to say.

Silence also and *Secresie*, which are qualities so essentially necessary to all sorts of persons, are to be learned from the same Nation; as nothing makes a man so vile and so contemptible, as not to be able to hold his peace (an imperfection and defect to be excused only in Children, fools and drunken persons) so nothing argues so much the infidelity and rashness of a publick person, as the revealing of secrets: as I am the master of my own secret, I may declare it to a friend; but my friends secret I may not tell it to another, because 'tis not my own; much less may a publick Minister betray his masters secret, wherein not onely one or few persons, but whole Nations for the most part are concerned. Many great designs have been obstructed, and many great evils caused or prevented, either by an untimely discovery of resolutions, or by some few words spoken unadvisedly; one word dropt from a mans mouth is sufficient at least to breed a suspicion, which usually puts men upon further inquiries and discoveries; therefore want of *secresie* is a great breach of prudence, which is the Salt, the Spirit

and the Life of Moral and Politick Vertues.

One thing more to be Learned is, *Constancy and Sentleness of Mind*, so necessary to private men, in both fortunes, and to publick persons in times of troubles and difficulties. A skilfull Pilot is not moved so, as to despair amidst the roaring of the winds, the tossing and tumbling of the waves, and the raging of the storm; contrariwise he flicks the closer to his work, grows more careful, and minds the more the safety of the Ship, wherein his own, and all others in it are included: So an experienced Minister of State, amidst all troubles, crosses and conspiracies against the State, doth retain that soundness of mind and tranquility of soul, which at last may bring him out of all dangers; instead of falling into confusion and disorder, or yielding to fear, he uses those means which are lawful, possible, and likely to quiet and pacifie things; he is not moved at different reports, he is neither incredulous nor overcredulous, but hears every thing, examines and weighs all, receives that which to him appears to be the truest, and resolves upon that which he thinks to be the best.

That *Italians* have known and practised these things, the history of ancient *Rome*, and the experience of these last times do justifie it, and some able States men, and great Politicians, whom that Nation hath afforded *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and other Countries, do clearly convince of this truth, and are presidents of it, and one single Proverb of theirs (to shew how solid and substantial they are) doth teach us all the vertues aforesaid in these words, *Non spender' cid che tu hai, non far' cid che tu puoi, non creder' cid che tu udi*; that is, *One must not spend all that he hath, nor do all that he can, nor tell all that he knows, nor believe all that he hears.*

F I N I S.

